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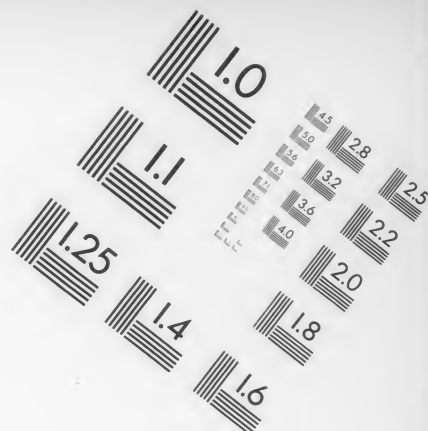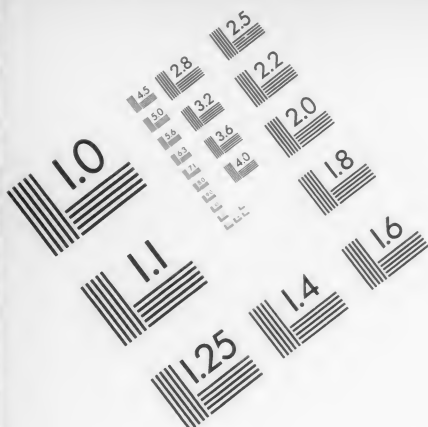
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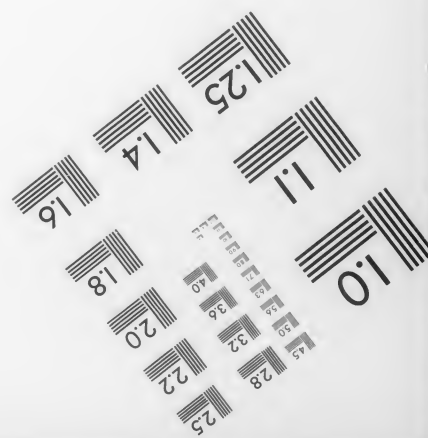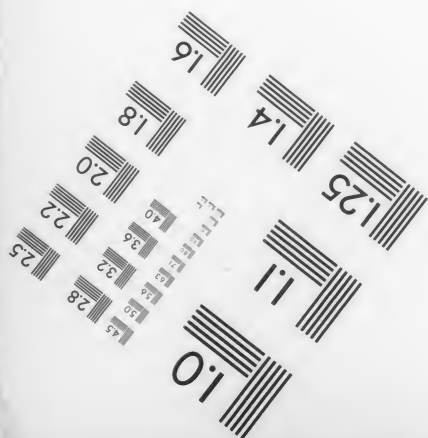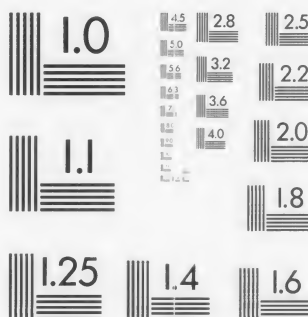
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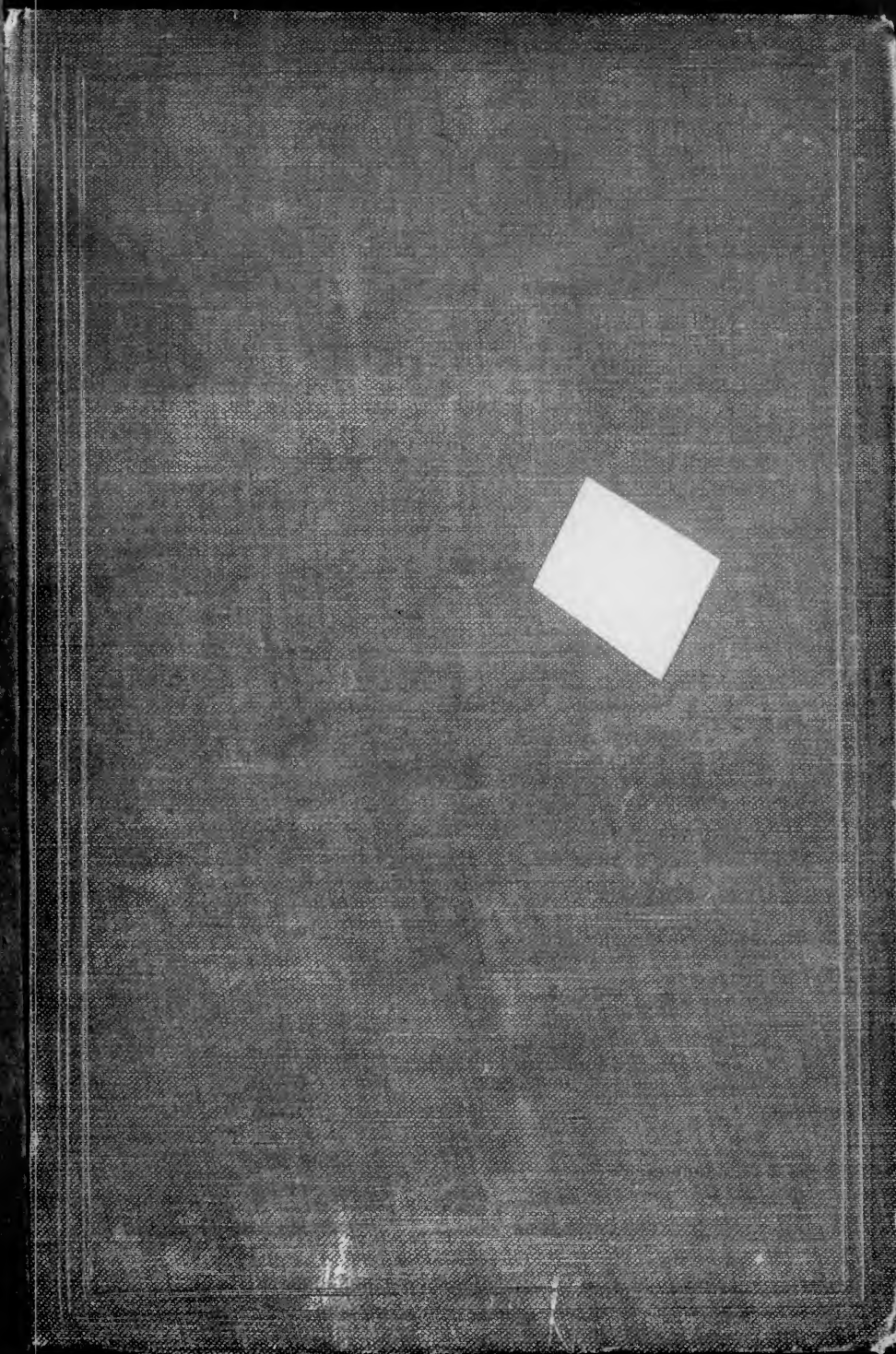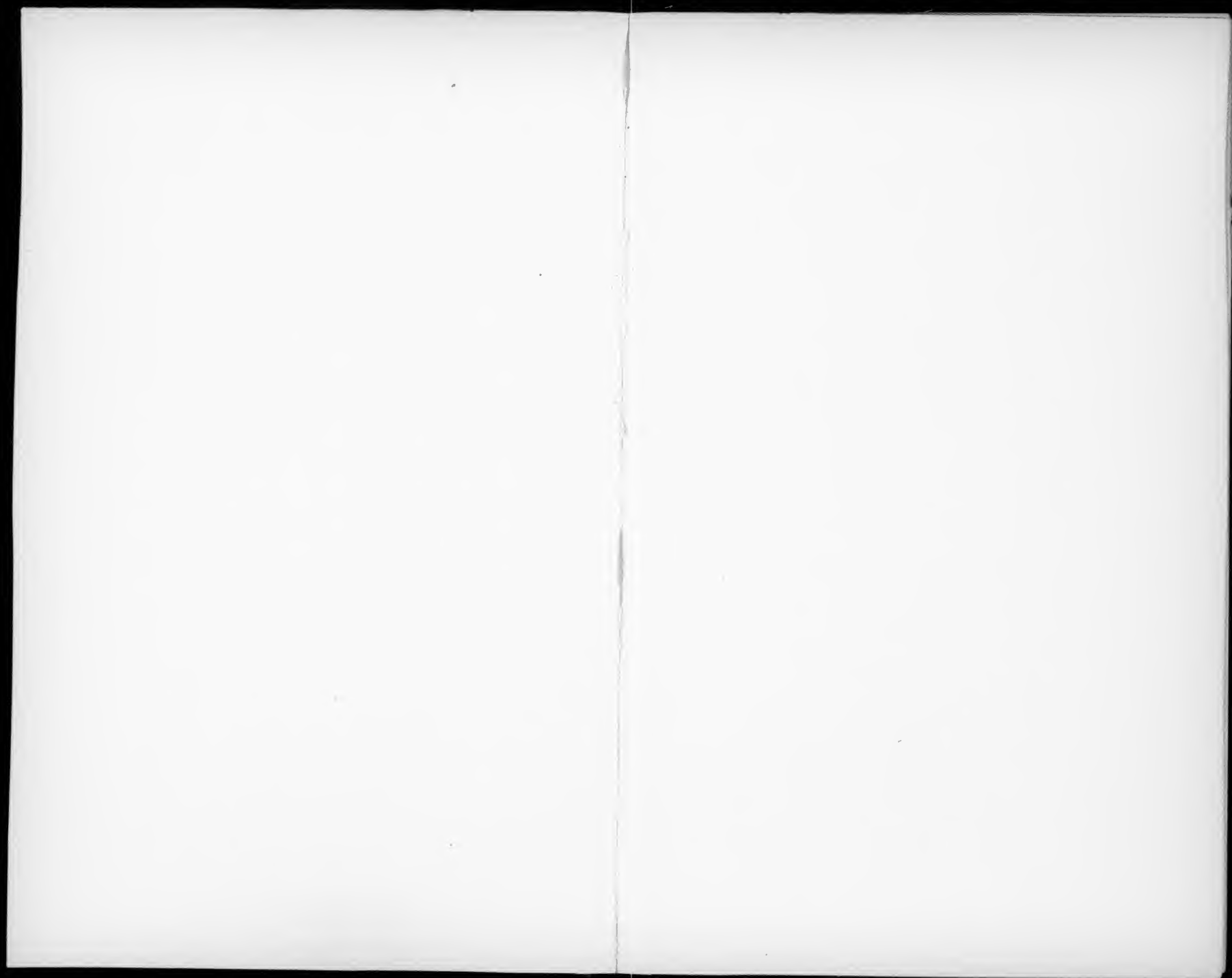
THE LATIN PRONOUNS.

THE LATIN PRONOUNS

IS : HIC : ISTE : IPSE

A SEMASIOLOGICAL STUDY

BY

CLARENCE LINTON MEADER, PH.D.,
INSTRUCTOR IN LATIN IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

New York
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
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1901

TO

PROFESSOR EDUARD von WOELFFLIN

THIS WORK IS

RESPECTFULLY AND GRATEFULLY

DEDICATED.

PREFACE.

The general plan of the following book[1] was outlined and the collection of material begun in Munich, in the summer of 1898. By June 1899 such progress had been made, that I found it possible to state my results in a form sufficiently definite to enable Professor Wölfflin to make an abstract of the same for publication in the eleventh volume of the Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik. Since my return to America in the fall of 1899, I have devoted such spare time as the duties of my position have allowed, to the further investigation of the subject, and have been able not only to add important new results to those already obtained, but to extend and illustrate still more fully by varied citations the results set forth in the printed abstract.

The original plan of the work provided for a chapter on ille and one on idem. These would have formed chapters II and III, the present chapters II, III, IV and V becoming IV, V, VI and VII. As they are not yet in a suitable form for printing, they are omitted for the present. The results thus far obtained in the study of the two pronouns are partly given in chapter V.

[1] In the summer of 1900 chapter I and Section A. of chapter II were submitted to the classical faculty of the University of Michigan as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

The present work contains the results of a line of investigation, in the conduct of which the historical method has been followed. In this particular it differs from all others that have been written on the subject. The most important of the modern treatises, that of Joseph Bach, extensive as it is (270 pages), makes no effort to discuss the pronouns from this point of view. It is confined almost entirely to the usage of the ante-classical period, and has for its main object the establishment of the thesis, that in the scriptores prisci the three demonstratives hic, iste and ille correspond to the three persons of the verb respectively. The only attempts of a historical nature that have hitherto been made are in the form of brief notices, to be found, for example, in Schmalz's Lateinische Syntax and in various monographs on the Latinity of particular writers. These rarely exceed a page or two in extent, and from the nature of the case make no claim to being anything else than fragments. Such works are, to be sure, of very great value, and without them an historical grammar in the proper sense of the word would be impossible. Yet they have their limitations and necessarily lack the perspective gained by following the changing meanings of the words through several centuries and by observing their relationships to each other and to synonymous expressions.

The selection of Latin texts from which the material for the present work was taken, is very full and representative, and covers every period of the development of the Latin language from Plautus to Isidore, as may be seen from the list of sources printed at the end of the volume.

In the statement of the deductions made from this collection of data, my object has been to adduce the evidence for the existence of each usage, to trace as far as possible its gradual development through all the periods in which it is found, and to illustrate its various aspects by typical examples. While attention has been directed mainly to the post-classical usages, some parts of the volume deal quite fully with usages of the pronouns that are distinctively classical; and it is hoped that the remaining chapters contain much that will prove of interest and value for the full understanding of the Ciceronian and Augustan Latinity. Throughout the entire work, the so called "regular" or "classical" meanings of the words have been treated, whenever some discussion of them was necessary to the understanding of the later meanings; and no pains have been spared to search out in the classical writers the beginings of the later changes, or the conditions out of which they grew.

The following chapters, however, are by no means to be regarded as a complete history of the pronouns under discussion. The changes dealt with have been set forth in broad general lines; and, although the development of each meaning is traced from its first appearance as far downward as possible, a detailed analysis of the questions treated or of the passages cited has rarely been entered upon. The forms of the words have received attention, only when they have materially affected the meaning. The magnitude of the entire investigation has made it necessary to omit the discussion of such questions as the psychological nature of the changes involved, the special conditions

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to which individual authors were subjected, and the influence of one author upon another. At almost every step in the progress of the work important problems have arisen and glimpses of interesting fields awaiting the student have often tempted me to turn aside for a moment. Yet rarely has a brief space of time been devoted to these minor questions. They are reserved for the future. The wide and varied reading both of the Latin texts and of the modern authorities has in itself been no small task. Nevertheless it seems unwise to defer publication any longer. It is hoped that the book, mere outline as it is, may justify its existence.

One who has himself conducted a line of research involving so many different problems and requiring so extensive a collection of data as the present one, will be the first to appreciate the difficulties of the work and to overlook any defects that it may contain. All friendly criticisms and suggestions will be gratefully received.

I take this opportunity to express my thanks to those who have aided me in my work. I can scarcely hope to be able ever to repay the debt of gratitude I owe Professor Wölfflin, who with unsparing generosity and by the sacrifice of much of his valuable time, aided me with continual encouragement and advice. By placing his excellent library and other resources at my service, he so facilitated my work, that I was enabled in less than three semesters to accomplish as much as would have required as many years under less favorable circumstances. Likewise to my former teachers, Professors Martin L. D'Ooge, Francis W.

Kelsey, John C. Rolfe, George Hempl and Joseph H. Drake, of the University of Michigan, I desire to express my gratitude both for my collegiate training in linguistics and for many valuable suggestions on this book. Professor Rolfe and Dr. Henry A. Sanders, of the University of Michigan, and Dr. George V. Edwards, of Olivet College, have been so kind as to read all the proofs, and have called my attention to numerous defects that would otherwise have escaped my notice.

Great as these obligations are, they can scarcely be greater than those I owe my wife, who by her sympathetic and intelligent appreciation of my work has afforded me much assistance, and has been to me an unfailing source of inspiration.

ANN ARBOR, MICH.,

　　Dec. 24, 1900.

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CHAPTER I. IS.

CHAPTER I. IS.

In the study of these pronouns we may profitably begin with the determinative is. It is the simplest in its elements (*cf.* *ol–so > ille, *e–p–so > ipse, *e–so–to > iste, *ho–i–ce > hic),[1] and in all the periods of the Latin language it is the weakest in meaning of the above mentioned pronouns (see Schmalz, Lateinische Syntax in Iwan Müller's Handbuch der kl. Alt. II.2, 3d ed. p. 444 : "es schliff sich auch als kleines Wörtchen sehr bald so ab, dass es überhaupt fast ganz ausser Kurs kam"). Traces of an original stronger demonstrative force are not far to seek. We may mention the familiar use of is qui in the sense approaching that of talis ut (see Harpers' Latin Lexicon *s. v.* for citations from Cicero, and add Sen. Contr. 3,3; Vell. Pat. 2,82,2 ea adiit pericula, *a* quibus seruari se posse desperauerat; Plin. Epist. 3,12,4; Gerber and Greef, Lex Tac. p. 709 *d*) "i. q. talis, eiusmodi"). Still more clearly does this force of the pronoun appear when it serves to introduce an ut-clause, as in Plaut. Capt. 934f.

> Pater, et petere a te ego potero et di eam potesta-
>   tem dabunt,   [res.
> Ut beneficium bene merenti nostro merito mune-

---

[1] These are the derivations accepted by Stolz (Historische Grammatik, 1894).

Such passages are rare in Plautus; a second instance is Poen. 1186 eo genere. Later examples are: Nepos, Them. 6,1(*cf.* Lupus, Der Sprachgebrauch d. C. Nepos p. 110); Vell. Pat. 2,90,4; Plin. Epist. 6,6,8; 6, 14,1 ea conditione ne; Tac. Dial. 23,20 ita...ea... is...ea...ea...is...ea...sic...sic..., ut...; Ann. 1,6,20(see G. and G., Lex. *l. c.*); Censorinus 1,6; Justin 37,1,7; Script. Histor. Augustae, Geta 7,4 *etc.*; Tertullian, Ad Nationes 1,7*p*; Lactantius, De Opificio Dei 4,3; 12; Ambrosius, Exameron 2,3,11(27E); Augustine, Epist. 22,4*m bis*; Alcimus Avitus 7(6), p. 35,12(P); Boethius, De Consolatione Philosophiae 1,6*pr.*,28. A stronger demonstrative force, approaching the normal meaning of ille, is also to be observed in such passages as Plaut. Trin. 746

.... atque ea condicio uel primariast;

Amph. 781

Haec east profecto patera;

Caecil. Statius, 28 f.(p. 33R) (*apud* Cicero, De Sen. 25 and Nonius 1,20)

Tum equidem in senecta hoc deputo miserrimum,
Sentire ea aetate ipsum esse odiosum alteri.

Cf. Virg. Aen. 3,393. In other instances the stronger demonstrative force of the pronoun is evident from the fact that the word it modifies is contrasted with another (*cf.* Plaut. Stich. 239–241; Men. 574), or is itself repeated (*cf.* Asin. 179; Truc. 122; Trin. 238; Ovid, Met. 7,43 f). With the demonstrative hic such a repetition is very common in all periods both with poets and prose writers (Plaut. Men. 132; Horace often). Ille is not so often repeated in this way as

hic. The repetition of the determinative is uncommon. These and similar types of construction, in which the determinative bears traces of a stronger force, are met in all periods of the literature.

In dealing with the semasiological and syntactical changes of this pronoun, it will be necessary, as the sequel will show, to draw a sharp distinction both between the usage of the prose writers and of the poets, and between the various subdivisions of these two great branches, *e. g.*, between technical prose, history and oratory; between the epos (in the narrower sense), satire, lyric poetry, *etc.* Within these smaller groups again it will be advisable to distinguish the chronological relations of the authors. There is entire justification for thus classifying the Roman prose literature; for, while a classification of modern prose literature on the basis of the prominence of poetical or rhetorical characteristics would doubtless lead to great confusion and many inconsistencies, the case was entirely different with the Greeks and the Romans. This is apparent from the two passages Cic. De Leg. 1,5 opus (*sc.* historiae) unum hoc oratorium maxime; Quintilian 10, 1,31 historia est proxima poetis et quodam modo carmen solutum. For further details on the style of historical composition in antiquity see Norden, Die Antike Kunstprosa I,81–95. The poetical coloring of Livy, particularly of the first decade, will at once occur to the reader, although it must not be overlooked that the Augustan historian adopted a more sober style after he had completed the first decade, the subject matter of which was poeticis magis decora fabulis quam incorruptis rerum gestarum monumentis.

It will also be recalled that the details of the complete
history of Rome which Cicero and Atticus contem-
plated writing conjointly, were so arranged that Atticus
was to establish the historical facts, while Cicero was
to furnish the rhetorical embellishments (*cf.* the corre-
spondence with Atticus for the year 45 and Plutarch's
Cicero 41).

A. *IS* IN POETRY.

We take up first the use of is in the poetical litera-
ture of the Romans, because it is here that we find
the most striking proofs of the weakening of its force
and its gradual disuse.   The French editor Dacier ap-
pears to have been the first to call attention to the fact
that the expression eius atque in Horace, Ode 3,11,18
is unpoetical.   The eminent Bentley in his note on this
passage says: "sed poetae epici, magno sane cum
iudicio, uocabulum hoc perpetuo mulctarunt exilio; ne
heroici carminis maiestatem humi serpere cogerent;
utpote singulis fere periodis recursurum, ni stilo subin-
telligerentur extrinsecus, neque praesentia sua uersus
inquinaret. inde est quod in toto Uirgilio ne semel
quidem occurrit eius, bis duntaxat in Ouidio, ut
Trist. 3,4,27." (a third, but doubtful passage is Met.
8,16) "...eo tamen peius noster (*i. e.* Horace), et quod
in carmine lyrico longe supra Ouidii elegos surgere
debuerit, et quod..."   Adolf Kiessling's note on eius
in O. 4,8,18 in part confirms, in part contradicts and in
part expands Bentley's affirmation: "der sonst der
Sprache der Oden, wie überhaupt gehobenem Ausdruck
fremde Gebrauch von is (doch scheut die Elegie das
Pronomen nicht) mag hier durch den scherzhaften
Zug, der durch das ganze Gedicht geht, sich entschuld-

igen lassen."   Bentley does not comment on this pas-
sage.   Kiessling brackets the stanza in which eius
occurs, 3,11,18.   As for the reason that led the poets
to avoid this word, both Kiessling and Bentley hint
vaguely that it is unpoetical.   Bentley seems to be
condemning only the form eius, while Kiessling's state-
ment may be understood to include all the forms of
the pronoun.   I know Dacier's attitude only from
Schütz, 3d ed. (1889), p. 402.   Grosrau, Sprachlehre,
§382, H, Anm. 2 makes a somewhat more definite and
detailed statement: "Wie et id, idque auf den ganzen
Satz bezogen, so steht isque am Anfang des Satzes
scharf hinweisend bei Cicero, haufig bei Virgil, 1,215;
3,596; 4,203; 6,684 *et al.*   Sonst haben die Dichter
höheren Stiles das Wort vermieden, *da es nur formelle
Beziehung, keine eigentliche Bedeutung hat*" (the italics
are mine).   Quite a different reason is assigned by
Schmalz, *l. c.* "Is war den Dichtern unbequem, weil
es sich nicht gut in den Vers fügt, und so meiden es
Catull, Virgil, Horaz, Lucan, auch der Metriker Ter-
entian, sichtlich."   This statement seems to be a
somewhat misleading abridgment of Obermeier, Der
Sprachgebrauch des M. Annaeus Lucanus, p. 15:
"Ohne Zweifel war dieses Pronomen...zu unbequem
da sich seine obliquen Casus nur schlecht in den Hexa-
meter fügten."   The questions suggested by all these
inadequate statements are numerous and render im-
perative a careful examination of the entire problem.

In the investigation of this question it will be
necessary first, as suggested above, to determine the
relative frequency of is in the poets as compared with
that in the prose writers.

Proceeding chronologically let us begin with a review of the usage of the early poets. Taking a selection from their extant works and fragments large enough to be representative, we obtain the following table of percentages:[1]

	hic	is	ille	ipse	iste	idem
Comicorum fragmenta ed. Ribbeck	42	25	20	4	7	2⅓
Tragicorum " " "	33	30	16	10	6	5
Plautus, Captivi	40	26½	16	3⅔	13	1½
" Casina	34	29	22	2⅖	12	1
" Menaechmi	43	20	18½	4⅓	12	2½
" Trinummus	30⅔	33	18¾	7⅔	9	1⅓
" average of the above	37	27½	18⅔	4⅔	11½	1⅔
Ennii fragmenta	38	23	17½	10	3½	7

This table is based upon the following total number of occurrences of these pronouns: Comici 319, Tragici 187, Captivi 422, Casina 254, Menaechmi 372, Trinummus 500, (excluding prologues); Ennius 153.

It will be seen from this table that the pronoun is occurs more frequently than any of the others with the exception of hic, and in one instance, that of the Trinummus, more frequently than hic. Ennius' use of is will be discussed more in detail below.

Lucretius in his usage of these pronouns holds a place very near the archaic poets, a circumstance which is of importance as furnishing further evidence of his sympathies with these writers, and showing his dependence upon them. In books 1, 2, 3, 6 of his poem the above pronouns occur in the following proportions:

hic 34, is 25, ipse 20, ille 14, idem 8, iste 0.   In

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[1] It has not been thought necessary to make the percentages in the tables exact to a small fraction of one per cent. Accordingly their sums sometimes slightly exceed or fall below a hundred.

Catullus, however, we find an important change. His complete works give us:

	hic	ille	ipse	is	idem	iste
	39	25¼	15½	12⅔	4⅓	2¾
with which *cf.* Cæsar	20	9½	14	50½	6	⅛

It will be observed that in Catullus is occupies the fourth rank, being less frequently used than either hic, ille or ipse. The Aratea, a translation made by Cicero in his earlier years, although antedating Catullus, shows a much stricter avoidance of the word. In the fairly extensive fragments of the Aratea (about 550 lines) that have come down to us, is is met with only three times: verse 250 (is), frag. XV (eius), verse 315 (eum); while in Catullus (about 2000 verses, many of them much shorter than Cicero's hexameters) it occurs 42 times. This apparent inconsistency in the usage of Cicero and Catullus disappears, however, when we distinguish between the latter's "Nugae" and his longer poems in hexameters (No. 62 Uesper adest and No. 64 Epithalamium Pelei). These two poems, which make up about one-fourth of the Catullus-corpus show but a single instance of is (64,122), since the word eius is unquestionably corrupt in v. 109 of the Epithalamium.

Having thus determined the date at which is begins to be less frequently used in poetry, we may now proceed to distinguish the various branches of poetry and to set forth in tabular form the whole number of occurrences of the determinative pronoun in (a) satire, (b) didactic epos, (c) elegy, (d) historical and heroic epos, (e) ode.

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SATIRE (with related branches).

Horace,[1] Sat. and Epist. 31 instances to ca. 4000 verses, or 1 to 130 vv.
Persius   6   "   " "   475   "   " 1 "   80
Juvenal   4   "   " "   3800   "   " 1 "   950
Martial   5   "   " "   8600   "   " 1 "   1720

DIDACTIC EPOS.

Cicero, Aratea   3 instances to ca. 550 verses, or 1 inst. to 180 vv
Virgil, Georgica   9   "   " "   2200   "   " 1   "   " 245
Manilius   24   "   " "   4200   "   " 1   "   " 170
Germanicus   1   "   " "   950   "   " 1   "   " 950
Epos Aetna   1   "   " "   654   "   " 1   "   " 654
Grattius, Cynegetica   2   "   " "   540   "   " 1   "   " 270
Serenus Sammonicus   1   "   " "   1100   "   " 1   "   " 1100
Nemesianus   2   "   " "   672   "   " 1   "   " 336
Auianus, Fabulae   2   "   " "   654   "   " 1   "   " 327

ELEGY and IDYL.

Virgil, Bucolica   2 inst. to ca. 800 verses, or 1 inst. to 400
Tibullus   5   "   " "   1900   "   " 1   "   " 380
Lygd. and Panegyr. 2   "   " "   400   "   " 1   "   " 200
Sulpicia   1   "   " "   300   "   " 1   "   " 300
Propertius[2]   13   "   " "   4100   "   " 1   "   " 315
Ovid, Amores   2   "   " "   2450   "   " 1   "   " 1225
" Tristia, Pont. 66   "   " "   6250   "   " 1   "   " 95
Statius, Siluae   6   "   " "   3900   "   " 1   "   " 650
Calpurnius   1   "   " "   760   "   " 1   "   " 760

EPOS (historical and heroic).

Aeneid   1 instance to ca. 125 verses
Ovid, Metamorphoses   1   "   " "   165
Lucan, Pharsalia   1   "   " "   1330
Valerius Flaccus   1   "   " "   220
Statius, Thebais   1   "   " "   320
Statius, Achilleis   1   "   " "   1125
Silius, Punica, B'ks 1–10 and 17   1   "   " "   190
Ilias Latina   1   "   " "   500
Dracontius, Carm. Profana   1   "   " "   600
Claudianus   1   "   " "   5000

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[1] In the same lines hic occures 350 times.

[2] Propertius 2,24,51 is now read Hi or Ni instead of Ii.

It might at first thought seem to the reader that the number of occurrences of is in Ovid's Ex Ponto and Tristia is too large to warrant the assertion that the poet avoided the pronoun. The relative smallness of this number, however, is apparent at a glance, when we note that on an equal number of pages of Caesar the pronoun occurs about 800 times.

The following are the precise references to the passages in which is occurs, only, however, for those authors who employ the word but a small number of times:

Persius 6,16 ob id. 3,95 quidquid id est. 6,65 quidquid id est. 2,71 id. 3,48 id. 5,97 id quod.

Juvenal 3,182 id uitium. 6,413 id uitium. 7,162 quidquid id est. 10,183 id.

Martial 2,30,5. 7,31,12. 14,145,1; in all three cases is or id at the beginning of a line. 3,1,1. 6,68,11; in both instances the formula quidquid id est. In addition to these passages it occurs twice in the prose introductions. Friedländer's index is misleading, since it cites only two examples.

Virgil, Georgica 1,432 is. 2,239 eă. 263 id. 3,252 eos. 289 eă. 510 eă. 4,89 eum. 334 eam. 430 eum.

Germanicus, Phaenomena 32 eas.

Aetna 253 eā.

Gratius 224 eius. 363 id.

Serenus Sammonicus 1095 id.

Nemesianus, Cynegetica 212 quicquid id est. 298 id.

Avianus 2,2 eam. 20,5 is. (*varia lectio* 40,4).

Virgil, Bucolica 3,35 id quod. 9,37 id quidem.

Tibullus 1,2,39 f is *bis*. 6,25 eius. 10,66 is. 2,3,33 (36) quisquis is es.

Lygdamus 3,4,94 Isque. 6,12 eum.

Sulpicia 4,7,8 id.

Ovid, Amores 3,4,3 ea. 15,5 Si quid id est.

Statius, Siluae 1,4,53 ea. 6,49 quisquis is est. 5,1,219 Is. 5,65 Quisquis is est. In verse 1,2,180 ea is a conjecture of Bährens for et, and, like Uerum id, at (for uerum erat) 5,5,49, is not accepted by Vollmer.

Calpurnius, Ecl. 4,12 Quidquid id est.

Lucan 1,171 is. 2,726 Non ea. 3,611 eam. 4,546 eum. 7,406(eo=propterea). 10,265 non id (*uaria lectio* ita). The poorer MSS. show forms of is in 3,228. 6,733. 828. 9,538. 1062. The passages in the sixth, seventh and tenth books are overlooked by Obermeier, *l. c.*

Statius, Achilleis 1,811(=2,137) Is

Ilias Latina 22 eius. 640 idque.

Dracontius 5,271 Id quod. 6,57 Uix ea fatus eram.

Claudianus XXXIII(=Proserp. 1,117). XXVIII, 558.

To these tables might have been added the Disticha Catonis and the Carmina De Figuris and De Ponderibus. These show one instance of is to every thirty-five to seventy lines, a frequency easily accounted for by the prosaic character of the subject matter and the carelessness of metrical treatment. In Corippus it is rarely used (examples: Ioan. 2,326 ea; 6,255 Uix ea; 8,33; 127 Uix ea; Laud. Iust. 1,79). The same is true of Cyprian's Heptatuch (Genesis 1039 Is qui; 1347 Id; Deuteronomy 57(953) id). In view of the strictness with which Cyprian avoided this word one should hesitate long before accepting Mayor's conjecture of is qui for ille qui Deuteronomy 124. 5(=1040f). In

the poetical portions of Boethius, De Consolatione Phil. it does not occur. On the avoidance of the word by the Satirists see Šorn, Der Sprachgebrauch des Eutropius, II,4. For Commodian see below.

The discrepancy between Ovid's Amores and his Tristia is perhaps to be explained by the circumstance that the former were written at Rome at the beginning of his career, at a time when he was strongly under the influence of his early rhetorical training, the latter in exile in his later years, at a time when his style was less careful. In putting forward this explanation, however, we must not fail to remember that the Metamorphoses, which is the last poem Ovid wrote before his exile, shows a comparatively frequent use of the determinative.

Before inquiring in detail what the above tables teach us concerning the use of this pronoun in the poets, it remains only for me to point out the striking contrast between the usage of the early poets discussed above (p. 8) and typical later poets. This contrast is clearly brought out by the following table:

	hic	is	ille	ipse	iste	idem
Tragicorum frag.	33	30	16	10	6	5
Comicorum frag.	42	25	20	4	7	2
Catullus	39	12	25	15	2	6
Virgil, Aen. III	49	5	23	14	3	5
Silius, Bks. VIII and IX	58	3	20⅓	12	1	5⅔
Lucan, Bks. II and III	60⅔	1	19	13	3	2⅔

Let us now see what the above tables teach with reference to the attitude of the poets toward this pronoun.

If the suggestions of Bentley and Grosrau cited above are true (*cf.* the words "epici carminis maiestatem—inquinaret"—"höheren Stiles"—"keine eigentliche Bedeutung"), we must in order to be consistent in detail, assume that the higher forms of poetry should be stricter in their avoidance of the word than those branches which do not rise so lofty above the *sermo pedestris*. Such a condition of affairs is precisely what we find reflected very clearly in the detailed table for Catullus above. We likewise find the determinative all but banished from Horace's Odes, while it is far less rigidly excluded from the Epistles and the Satires, as the two passages above mentioned are the only ones in the Odes in which is occurs. But, since the usage found in the works of Ennius (see below page 16) is slightly different, the evidence of such a distinction is limited to these two instances. Virgil employs it more rarely in his Georgics than in the Aeneid, though on the general theory we should expect the contrary. Juvenal in his Satires is much more sparing of is than the writers of the heroic epos, Statius and Valerius Flaccus, while Martial, the writer of epigrams, avoids the word more strictly than any other Roman poet except Claudian and Boethius. In fact each of the branches distinguished above shows great variety within itself. The average number of lines corresponding to each occurrence of is varies in the

Satire, *etc.*	from	80	to	1720
Didactic Epos	from	170	to	1100
Elegy and Idyl	from	95	to	1200
Heroic and Hist. Epos	from	125	to	1300[1]

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[1] If we include Claudian, 5000.

Any attempt to establish a general canon based on the distinction of genera is therefore seen to be futile. If we disregard the genera and undertake to determine some principle based on chronology, we shall likewise be unsuccessful in discovering a regularly operating principle. However, in general, it is perfectly clear that the post-Augustan poets and especially the later writers, are much more strict in the exclusion of the pronoun than the Augustan. Compare, *e. g.*, Martial (1×1720)[1] with Horace (1×130); Statius, Silvae (1×650) with Tibullus (1×380), with Propertius (1×320) or with Virgil's Bucolics (1×400); Lucan (1×1430) with Ovid's Metamorphoses (1×165); and Dracontius (1×1200) with Virgil's Aeneid (1×125). In other words, the rule of composition, for such we must call it, was more strictly applied as time went on, and as originality played an increasingly less prominent part in Roman literature. We shall be impressed with the comparative rarity of is in poetry, when we consider that Cæsar alone has over two thousand instances of is, even omitting the forms hi and his, which in a large number of cases undoubtedly represent original ii and iis or eis, against Horace's 34 and Virgil's 75.

An examination of the usage of the poets with a view to determining whether they observed any distinction in the use of the special cases reveals some striking facts. Certain forms of is are rigidly avoided, while for others a strongly marked preference is shown. This preference for certain cases is seen in some writers long before any tendency to avoid the word as a whole is observable. Ennius for example, if we are

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[1] *i. e.*, one instance in 1720 verses.

justified in making deductions from the somewhat limited number of extant fragments of his works, observes a careful distinction in the use of the forms of is, as employed in his Hexameters on the one hand and in his Dramas, the tone of which approaches that of the vernacular, on the other. In the fragments of the Annals (600 verses) only the forms is, ea and eos and the monosyllabic forms sam, sas, sos, sum occur, there being in all fifteen instances. In the Satires (86 verses) only is occurs (four times). In the Fabulae the word occurs about as often as in the Annals, but with this marked difference: the form is is used only once, ea only once, id four times, while the forms ei, eum, eo, eis, entirely excluded from the Annals, occur seven times, the forms with the initial sibilant being entirely rejected. The facts are most evident in tabulated form (based on L. Müller's edition, 1884):

	Ann. Sat.	Fab.
Monosyllabic forms and ea	18	7
Other forms	1 (eos)	7

In view of the somewhat scanty fragments of Ennius one might be tempted to regard the above mentioned conditions as a result of chance, did he not find them strikingly confirmed by the usage of the later poets. To make this clearer we here insert a tabulated statement of the relative frequency of the cases of is in the Augustan and post-Augustan poets mentioned in the above tables with the exception of the Tibullus-corpus, Propertius, Horace and Manilius, who are not so rigid in the exclusion of the oblique cases, and with the addition of Ennius' Annals, Ca-

tonis Disticha, the Carmina de Figuris, de Ponderibus and de VII Planetibus, Namatianus and Priscian's Periegesis. For the sake of comparison with a standard prose-writer we adjoin in a parallel series the figures giving the relative frequency in Caesar. Number of instances:

	is (sam, *etc.*)	ea	id	eum, eam	eo, ea	eos, eas	other forms	total
Caesar	50	90	175	245	360	185	940	2045
Poets	104	150	112	22	15	5	2	410

For Caesar the occurrences are stated in round numbers and include the Pseudo-Caesarian Bell. Alex., Bell. Afr., and Bell. Hisp. The two isolated cases in the poets are eius from Ovid, Ex Ponto 4,15,6 (omitted in Heinze's text) and Ilias Latina 2,2. The above figures yield the following percentages:

Caesar	2½	4½	8½	12	17½	9	46	100
Plautus	15	5½	30	19½	7	3½	19½	100
Poets	25¼	36½	27½	5½	3½	1¼	½	100

In this table Plautus is represented only by the four plays tabulated above. The forms eius and ei (Dative) make up seventeen per cent. of the nineteen and one-half per cent. in the last column but one. If we now include in the poets the totals for the Tibullus-corpus, Propertius, Horace and Gratius, the proportions remain still not very materially altered:

	is	ea	id	eu(a)m	eo(a)	other forms	
Occurrences:	118	152	144	36	22	20	492
Percentages:	24	31	29¼	7¼	4½	4	100

We observed above that the determinative as a whole is avoided by the poets. The last two tables show

that in the handling of the special cases also careful discrimination was made.

Certain forms of is have entirely disappeared, others are rarely used, while still others have become decidedly less frequent than in prose. On the other hand a marked preference is shown for the monosyllabic forms is and id and for the pyrrhic ea. With these three forms the poets have in fact developed a number of formulae that find frequent employment. Among the more common of these may be mentioned:

1 2 isque, idque. Ennius, Lucretius, Tibullus, Virgil, Ovid, Statius, Silius.

3 atque is. Statius, Silius.

4 atque ea. Lucretius, Virgil, Ovid, Statius, Silius.

5 uix ea (often followed by fatus erat). Virgil, Ovid, Statius, Dracontius.

6 dumque ea. Statius, Silius.

7 quidquid id (is) est (es). Lucretius, Tibullus, Virgil, Statius, Nemesianus, Avianus, Calpurnius.

Of these nos. 1,2,5,6 are of quite frequent occurrence, there being nearly one hundred instances in all. None of them, however, are found in Lucan. The form eă shares with other pyrrhic words the peculiarity of often filling the last two short syllables of the fourth foot of the hexameter. Thus is formed the cadence ⌣⌣ – ⌣⌣ – ⌣ so common in our epics. Examples are: Virgil, Aen. 2,17 ea fama uagatur; 3,505 ea cura nepotes; 660 ea sola uoluptas; 4,379 ea cura quietos; 2,123 ea numina diuom; 3,100 ea moenia quaerunt; 12,216 ea pugna uideri; Ovid, Met. 6,154 ea cuncta placerent;

8,123 ea fabula: uerus; 15,64 ea pectoris hausit, *etc.*, *etc.*; Statius, Thebais 2,73; 4,242; Valerius Flaccus 3,223; 455; 4,144; 6,18; 7,108; 8,43.

Compare with this peculiarity the observation made by Edwards, The Ablative of Quality and the Genitive of Quality in Latin, New York, 1900, p. 39, that the Ablative of quality corpore stands nearly always in the fifth foot of the hexameter, because of the impossibility in many instances of employing the Genitive in this position. Whatever may have been the reason or reasons that led the poets to distinguish between the Ablative and the Genitive construction,[1] the

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[1] It is evident that the choice between these two constructions, if determined simply by the technique of prosody, must depend, in Virgil and the later writers at least, upon the character (vocalic or consonantal) of the initial vowel of the following word. As a matter of fact, in Lucretius 1,1–300 the dissyllabic words with initial consonant that follow a dactylic word in the fifth foot of the hexameter are about three times as frequent as the words with initial vowels in the same position (in Virgil 1, 1–300 the proportion is about two of the former to one of the latter). There would accordingly be more opportunity on an average to employ the Ablative, *if the choice were determined merely by the character of the following word.* Is it not more likely that the reverse would be the case, and that the character of the final dissyllable would be determined by the use of the Ablative or the Genitive in the fifth foot? Or, if Lucretius was forced to use a word like posse in the sixth foot, would he have found any difficulty in writing 1,488 solidi reperiri corpori' posse?

Since writing the above, I have laid this question before Dr. Edwards, who agrees with me that Lucretius was not constrained by the metre to write corpore, referring to 2,53 rationi' potestas and 2,623 numini' diuae. He urges, however, and rightly enough, that the influence of Lucretius, and particularly of Virgil, on subsequent usage must have been great.

appearance of the word corpore so often in the fifth
foot is easy of explanation.　In the Latin hexameters
a dactylic word often forms the fifth foot (about 230
cases in Lucretius 1,1–300, Virgil 1,1–300 and Juvenal,
Satire 1), less frequently in the first foot (about 80
cases in the same lines) seldom in the fourth (12
cases) and very rarely in the second and third (no
cases).　It is a question then of the diaeresis and the
penthemimeral caesura.　Applying these conditions to
the pronoun is, we may readily conjecture that, if no
elision takes place (elision occurs very rarely; so Ovid
Met. 2,785 and Silius 7,160—In both cases it also
precedes the diaeresis), the form ea will stand only in
a foot that is followed by the diaeresis, *i. e.*, in the
fifth, fourth and first often, in the third less fre-
quently, in the second very rarely.　What we actually
find is that out of 86 instances of ea 48 fall in the first
foot, 28 in the fourth foot, 8 in the third and 2 in the
second.　The excess of the occurrences in the first
foot over those in the fourth (we might have expected
the reverse) is accounted for by the frequent use of is
as a correlative.　Thus out of the 201 passages in
which various forms of is occur in Ennius, the Tibul-
lus-corpus, Propertius, Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, Statius
and Silius, 118 fall to the first foot, 34 to the fourth, 25
to the second, 19 to the third, 5 to the fifth and none to
the sixth.　This also explains the absence of is from
the sixth foot and its infrequent appearance in the
fifth.

　In addition to the cases of is counted in the com-
parison drawn between Caesar and the poets the fol-
lowing instances occur in metrical inscriptions:

id: Bücheler, Carm. Epigraph., nos. 767; 995,26;
　1009 Quicquid id est; 1031; 1258 Idque (= C.
　I. L. XII,2098; VI,12652; XI,1273 (ex sche-
　dis); VI,6592; 23004); Hübner, Inscriptiones
　Hispaniae Christianae ex Zamorae schedis.
eius: B. 765 (= C. I. L. XII,2143).
ei (dat.): B. 489 (monosyllabic); 492 (iambic)
　(= C. I. L. III,10501; 754).
eo (for eum): B. 474 (= Ephem. Epigraph. IV,
　p. 346, no. 936).
ea: B. 774 (= C. I. L. VIII,684).

　Taking up the forms in detail, we may now observe
that the forms is and ea are among those less fre-
quently found in prose.　This is also true of id, but
the contrast between the prose usage and that of the
poets is not so marked in the case of this form.　Most
striking of all is the almost entire absence of eius in
the poets, which is used by the prose writers more
frequently than any other form, occurring, for exam-
ple, in Caesar upwards of three hundred times.
It is fairly common in Lucretius (55 times in books
1–3; 6) and Manilius (12 times), who often employ
it to fill the last foot of the hexameter.　The only
other poets of those cited in the above tables, who
use it are: Catullus 84,5; Tibullus 1,6,25; Propertius
4,2,35; 4,6,67; Horace, Satires 2,1,70; 6,76; Ovid,
Trist. 3,4,27; ex Ponto 4,15,6 (some manuscripts
have huius—In Met. 8,16 eius is a questionable read-
ing); Gratius 224.　From this count the ante-classi-
cal poets and Commodian are also omitted.　The latter
shows marked peculiarities in his use of the word, as
in his metrics in general.　He uses is, however, spar-

ingly, showing the forms: is 4 times, ea 6 times, eius 3 times, eo 12, earum 5, eos 6, eis 3. Entirely missing from the poets are ii(ei) Nom. pl., eae and eis. Omitting Commodian and the inscriptions mentioned, earum occurs only in Catullus 63,54; Horace, Sat. 2,8,92; eorum only in Horace, Sat. 1,4,80; eos only Propertius 2,21,7; Horace, Epist. 2,1,67; Virgil, Georg. 3,252; Aen. 1,413; Carmen de Pond. 72; eas Horace, Sat. 1,10,14; ei (dat.) only Catullus 82,3; Ovid, Hal. 34. It is also worthy of comment that only the instance in the Carmen de Ponderibus and those in the inscriptions fall later than the Augustan age. This clearly shows not only that the later writers in metre avoided the word as a whole, but also that they were more rigid in the exclusion of the oblique cases just enumerated. As a matter of fact, in the entire post-Virgilian literature under discussion there are only five cases of eum, five of eo, one of eius, two of ei. Three of these fall to Lucan.

Considerable light is thrown upon the reasons for this attitude of the poets by the explanations of Wölfflin-Meader in the Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik XI,373 ff:

1) 'The nominative forms ii, ei, eae were indistinguishable in pronunciation, and hence in metrical value, from the Dative and from the Nominatives hi and hae. The poets' ears could hardly have felt the combination of sounds eae as an objectionable cacophony, since they frequently admit such forms as meae, deae, *etc.* Iis was avoided for the same reasons as ii.'

This point suggests one of the most interesting as

well as most important problems of textual criticism. The questions involved are a) at what time was the phonetic identity of ii and hi, eae and hae, iis and his (hiis also occurs) an accomplished fact? b) how far has this confusion operated at a later date to cause corruption in the manuscripts of the earlier writers? Weissbrodt, De usu pronominum is et hic quaestio, Progr. Bromberg, 1878,79 has shown quite clearly that this confusion could scarcely have become general before the end of the second century A. D., although isolated cases of hi for ii and of his for iis are found much earlier. In the fourth and fifth centuries this confusion was very common, if not universal. The attempt of Hans Ziegel, De is et hic pronominibus quatenus confusa sint apud antiquos, Marburg, 1897, to bring order into the chaos must be regarded as a distinct advance. He endeavors to prove by the collation of certain manuscripts, that an unknown grammarian of the fourth or fifth century established some rules for the guidance of authors or scribes in the choice between the two sets of forms. Still his results cannot be accepted until they receive confirmation by the consultation of other manuscripts. If the question were one of orthography and phonetics only, it would be comparatively simple. It is, however, complicated by considerations of semasiology. The weakening of the force of hic, which will be treated in the following chapter, had in the classical period so far advanced as to render the interchange of the two words no uncommon occurrence. We may therefore not unreasonably inquire, whether the writers, though perfectly aware of the orthographical, phonetic and semasiological dis-

tinctions (however slight) between the two words,
nevertheless deliberately chose his and hi in preference
to iis and ii. One circumstance, which, so far as I
am aware, has never been noted, is of great weight: in
sentences of the type of Quint. 9,2,1 nam mihi de his
sententiarum figuris dicere in animo est, quae ab illo
simplici modo indicandi recedunt, other forms than his
and hi are of the rarest occurrence, while these two
forms are quite frequently met with (Compare, *e. g.*,
the readings in Cato, De Agricultura 1,4; 18,6; 52,1;
66,2; 149,2; 158,2). We feel called upon to lay con-
siderable stress upon this fact in view of the surprising
persistency with which modern writers on Latin gram-
mar cite instances of hi and his to prove the weaken-
ing of the meaning of hic. Very few writers quote
instances of any other form. This extraordinary per-
ponderance of the two forms hi and his would be more
naturally brought about by manuscript corruption
than by semasiological conditions contemporary with
the author, since such conditions would be likely to
affect all forms alike and not simply the two just
mentioned. As no instance of iis or is (for iis) occurs
in the poets mentioned above except the dramatists, it
is very difficult to say whether the confusion in manu-
script tradition has affected their works as well as
those of the prose writers.'

2) 'The Nominative ei was coincident in form with
the Dative ei.'

3) 'The Dative ei varied between the monosyllabic
pronunciation (Lucilius 4,40(Ei *coni.* M.); 7,27; En-
nius, Fab. 204 (Müller); Catullus 82,3), the iambic
(Ovid, Hal. 34—Lucan avoids the Dative 6,172 by

using viro [Obermeier, *l. c.*]) and the spondaic (see
Ritschl, Opusc. II, 419, where are quoted twenty-two
examples from the comedians and seven from Lucre-
tius).'

4) 'The forms eum, eam, eo, eā, eos, eas varied
between the monosyllabic and the dissyllabic pronun-
ciation, and eorum, earum were pronounced with and
without synezesis.'

5) 'Eius is still more uncertain in its pronuncia-
tion. It is monosyllabic (Cicero, Arat. *apud* De Nat.
Deor. 2,109) or pyrrhic under the republic (*cf.* Lach-
mann on Lucr. pp. 27; 161), while the normal Augus-
tan pronunciation was trochaic.'

'To avoid such difficulties the poets excluded the
forms in question entirely from their writings.' On
the whole subject of the uncertainty and variety in
pronunciation of the dissyllabic and trisyllabic forms
of is see Bücheler, Lateinische Declination, index *s. vv.*

Positive evidence that the considerations just men-
tioned played a part in determining the poet to avoid
the use of these metrically inconvenient forms of is,
is found in the similar attitude of the poets toward
idem. The evidence collected by Bücheler, *op. cit. s.
vv.* idem, eadem, *etc.*, shows that we have no reason
for supposing that the confusion in pronunciation of
idem was any less than that of the determinative. On
the contrary, the transference of the accent would tend
still further to bring about the disappearance of the
initial vowel of the oblique cases (compare the form
of the Nom. masc., sg. and pl. Dat.–Abl. pl. idem and
isdem—the normal forms employed in the hexameter—
with the uncompounded ii, eis, iis, rarely or never

employed by the poets). The reduction of these two forms to dissyllables rendered their employment in metrical writings possible, or at least unobjectionable; and placed them, in fact, metrically on the same basis with is and id. Accordingly we frequently find them in poetry, while ii and iis are absolutely avoided. This is in itself sufficient proof that the difficulty of metrical treatment was the chief objection to the two simple forms. In Catullus, Tibullus-corpus, Propertius, Horace's Odes, Ovid's Ex Ponto, Martial and Juvenal the following forms of idem occur, if we may trust the indices: idem Nom. sg. and pl. 72 times; eadem Nom. sg. pl. and Acc. pl., 38; isdem Dat.–Abl. pl. 7 times; other forms, 13 (10 in Ovid and Juvenal.). Horace is less strict in the use of idem, precisely as he is less strict in the exclusion of is from his Satires and Epistles. I have no doubt that the examination of Virgil, Lucan, Silius, Statius and Valerius Flaccus would reveal still greater caution on the part of these writers in the use of idem.

While there can be no doubt that these considerations have played an important part in determining the exclusion of the determinative and the pronoun of identity from poetry, we must not overlook other considerations. It was a true feeling for the language that led Dacier to remark on the unpoetical character of is, and that led Bentley (if his opinion was not formed independently) to approve his judgment. The determinative does express in most cases only "formelle Beziehung," but it is going too far to add, as Grosrau does, that the word "keine eigentliche Bedeutung hat." To be sure, the word often adds so little

to the sentence that it may be dropped even in prose, yet the usage of the poets shows that here, as in prose, the word often has a more or less strong demonstrative force, "he and no other," sometimes approaching talis in meaning (*cf. supra*), while, *vice versa*, it is less frequently used as a simple correlative with qui. We occasionally find it where in classical prose we should expect ille or hic.

From correspondence with Professor Shorey, of the University of Chicago, I learn that the same feeling concerning the weakness of the meaning of certain words underlies his note on Horace O. 4,2,33 and the statement found on p. xix of the Introduction to his edition of Horace's Lyrics.

This discussion would be incomplete and perhaps misleading, if we should omit to state that even in prose the forms ei (ii) Nom. pl. and eae are extremely rare. In Caesar, for example, the two combined make up only 1⅔ per cent. of the entire number of occurrences of the determinative, in the Rhetorica ad Herennium only 1⅔ per cent., in Curtius ⅔ per cent., in Florus ⅔ per cent., in Apuleius ⅓ per cent., while they are entirely absent from Fronto B'ks. 1–5. Is their scarcity due to their disappearance (absorption) into the forms hi and hae, or to disuse caused by a weakening of meaning? The answer must pend the solution of the problem stated on pages 22 sq. It may further be added that even the form hae would from the bare fact of its being Nom. pl. fem. find rather infrequent use as a substantive either in prose or verse (more often in the latter), while both hi and hae would often be understood from the per-

sonal ending of the verb or represented by the relative qui, quae. The form id, on the other hand, was largely used in prose as well as in poetry (compare the numerical prominence of the neuters hoc and haec), yielding in the Rhetorica ad Herennium 25¼ per cent. of all instances of the determinative, in Florus 27, and in Fronto (and M. Aurelius), B'ks. 1–5, 29 per cent.

B. *IS* IN PROSE LITERATURE.

Although the prose literature of the Romans does not show peculiarities in the use of is so striking as those just discussed, yet some interesting and valuable facts may be learned from observing the attitude of the prose writers. An examination of the monuments shows that is is less and less frequently employed in proportion as the style passes from the cold and unimpassioned scientific exposition (legal literature, Cato, De Agr., *etc.*) through the more lively historical narrative into the impassioned tone of oratory and rhetorical (declamatory) prose (Seneca). In fact it is *par excellence* the pronoun of the curial style. In all our preserved laws, formulae, *etc.*, hic hardly appears at all. When it does, it refers with few exceptions to the subject matter of the document itself. Ille occurs previous to the year 48 A. D. only three times in Bruns' Fontes. The passages are: lex Cornelia de XX quaestoribus (81 B. C.) l, 5 ollis hominibus in which case ollis seems to have the force peculiar to formulae, "so and so"; lex a vicanis Furfensibus templo dicta (58 B. C.) l. 3 comulateis olleis legibus illeis regionibus (in which case it certainly bears the meaning just mentioned)—*cf.* Hermes VII, p. 201,

where the style of this provincial document is discussed. In view of the extreme rarity of the word, one is surprised to meet with it in the Laws of the Twelve Tables 10,8 ast im cum illo (*i. e.*, auro quo iuncti sunt dentes) sepeliet. Aside from the question as to how much the text of the laws has been modernized, there is of course a possibility of corruption in the manuscripts of Cicero, where the passage is preserved. If the text is sound, the demonstrative may be justified by the contrast between the gold particularly mentioned in the sentence just cited, and the general prohibition neue aurum addito. Even after the date above mentioned ille appears rarely in the laws. In the S. C. Claudianum (48 A. D.), which really has the form of an address and not of a legal document, ille occurs four times. In the carelessly written decretum proconsulis Sardiniae (79 A. D.) there is an example; likewise in the S. C. Macedonianum (69–79 A. D.), where illi stands simply for ei; in the testamentum Galli (first century); in the testamentum Dasumii (108 A. D.); in the lex arae Iovis Salaritanae (137 A. D.), in which occurs the above cited formula ollis legibus ollis regionibus; in the epistula praefectorum praetorio (168 A. D.), where illo = eo; in the lis fullonum de pensione solvendo where illud quod = id quod; in the gesta de aperiendo testamento (474 A. D.), quod .... illud = quod .... id. It should be noted that only few of these are *public* documents, which keep closer to the classical usage.

Turning now to the writers of scientific prose we find the relative frequency of the six pronouns to be as follows:

	is	hic	ille	ipse	idem	iste
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Cato	59½	23½	3	2	11	1
Vitruvius	64	22	⅓	5½	8	⅛
Gaius	64	15	4	8	8	1
Dictys Cretensis	70½	13	2¼	8½	4¾	¼
Dares Phrygius	72	11	7¼	6⅞	2⅞	⅞

In the first three cases hi and his are counted with hic although there can be no doubt that many of them should fall into the is-column. Owing to the confusion between ii and hi, iis and his, 73 and 11 would probably be a more exact proportion for Dictys Cretensis. In the case of Dares those instances of hi and his which undoubtedly represent original ii and iis are included in the 72 per cent. The last two writers are added not as scientific writers, but because their percentages approach nearest to those of Cato, *etc.* They may easily have used the pronoun is so largely in order to give their writings a flavor of antiquity.

The historians in their employment of these pronouns show some marked differences:

	is	hic	ille	ipse	idem	iste
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Caesar	50½	20½	9½	14	6	⅛
Curtius	36	21	16½	18¾	7	⅞
Suetonius	55¾	18¼	6⅔	14	5⅓	⅛
Justin	35	22	14⅓	16⅓	12	⅓
Victor	50½	22	9	11	7	1

The pronouns ille and ipse are decidedly more fre-

Sat.   17⅓   39   14⅓   15½   3⅞   4⅓

quent,—it could not be otherwise in historical literature,—while is has decreased. The less frequent employment of is by Curtius and Justin could be easily accounted for. The African Latinity of Florus and his poetical coloring, for which see Archiv f. lat. Lex. u. Gram. VI, 1 ff. [Wölfflin], removes him widely from these. He shows:

17   24   26   27½   5¼   ¼

With him, as with Catullus, is holds the fourth place instead of the first, its position being usurped by ille and ipse. He represents the extreme phase of a movement, which has left clear traces of its influence on the historical and particularly on the patristic literature. A medial position is occupied by the following writers:

	is	hic	ille	ipse	idem	iste
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Seneca Rhetor	13⅔	35⅓	35	6	3⅓	6⅔
Pliny, Epistulae	16	34	23	16	6½	4½
Macrobius, Som. Scip.	16	47	11½	15½	8¾	2
Boethius, De Consol.	23½	35½	20½	13	3½	1½

The facts told by these tables require no comment. The following chapters will be found to describe in detail the semasiological changes that explain, to a large extent at least, the shifting of the predominence in usage from one pronoun to another.

Concerning the weakening of is in particular, those interested may consult Praun, Bemerkungen zur Syntax des Vitruv p. 83; Šorn, Der Sprachgebrauch des Historikers Eutropius, part II, p. 3; and Hoppe, Program, p. 8.

I can cite no writer in whose works is has so far

been replaced by hic, ille and ipse as in those of the grammarian Pompeius. In his writings it is confined almost entirely to certain set formulae or phrases. As a free and independent word it is nearly extinct. The following table is based on the first 108 pages of Keil's edition of Pompeius.

	is	hic	ille	ipse	idem	iste	totals
Number of instances:							
Cæsar and continuators	2.73|2045	830	382	525	277	5	
	749	304	140	189	101	2	1485
Pompeius	24	425	430	235	35	335	1484
Percentages:							
Cæsar, *etc.*	50½	20½	9½	14	6	⅛	
Pompeius	1¾	27¾	28¾	17½	2¼	22	

The conclusions which are to be drawn from this table are to be found in chapter III.

In reference to the disappearance of the individual forms of is, little is to be said beyond the remarks on the forms ii, iis, eae made above. It is well known that in later Latin the form eum (neuter) made on the analogy of ipsum, bellum, *etc.*, usurps the place of the form id, except in the phrase id ipsum (= Italian desso) and probably a few other formulae. Examples are cited by Geyer, Kritische und sprachliche Erläuterungen zu Antonini Plac. Itin., p. 41.

CHAPTER II. HIC.

CHAPTER II.   HIC.

A.   THE RIVALRY BETWEEN HIC AND IS.

The encroachment of hic on the province of is is
most clearly demonstrable in the case of certain short
formulae or phrases, in which the neuter Nominative,
Accusative or Ablative is used to refer not to some
particular word, but to the general idea of the follow-
ing or the preceding sentence or clause. Such phrases
are eo (= ideo, propterea), hoc (= ideo, propterea),
both either with or without a following quia, quod, ut,
ne, *etc.*; eo with the comparative, hoc with the com-
parative; id est, hoc est, both explanatory; ad id, ad
hoc with various meanings; ob id, ob hoc; postea,
postidea, (post id, post eă), posthac (post hoc, p. haec—
also postillā and illă); eiusmodi, huiusmodi; and lastly
eo consilio, hoc consilio, the last two not being fre-
quently employed.   These are all special cases under
the general principle stated by Kühner, Lat. Gram.,
§ 118, 2 Anm. 7 and 8 (= vol. II, p. 455).   The first
five pairs form the subject of the present section.

1.   Eo=ideo, hoc=ideo.

The causal use of these two Ablatives is fully
developed as early as Plautus, not to mention the
doubtful passage in the lex XII tabularum 2,2 morbus
sonticus .... aut dies status cum hoste .... quid

horum fuit uitium iudici reoue, eo dies || die || diffensus || diffissus, Th. Mommsen || esto. Examples of hoc = ideo are:

Pseud. 807 [1] Illum (*sc.* coquum) conducunt (homines)
        potius qui uilissumust.

   Hoc ego fui hodie solus obsessor fori;

819 ff.   Ei homines cenas........
        .....condiunt.......strigibus,
        .....conuiuis intestina quae exedint.

   Hoc hic quidem homines tam breuem uitam
        colunt;

Miles 850

     ....ego promebam postea,
   Hoc illi crebro capite sistebant cadi;

Hoc is here a probable and generally accepted conjecture of Brix 2d ed. for the MSS. hic. Cist. 319 ff.

   Nam hasce aedis conductas habet meus gnatus,
     haec ubi astat.   [nominauit.
   Hoc hanc eam esse opiniost: nam haec illum

I cite these passages in full since they are the only ones known to me in Plautus. Ussing *ad* Asin. 235 (= 248 U) says "hoc = ideo" but I cannot regard the passage as an indisputable instance of the construction. Sentences of the type Stich. 127

   Sed hoc est, quod ad uos uenio quodque esse
     ambas conuentas uolo

(*cf.* Asin. 864; Merc. 711; Men. 1135) do not belong here, inasmuch as the passage Rud. 1258

   Illuc est quod nos nequam seruis utimur

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[1] All citations from Plautus follow the larger revision and completion of Ritschl's edition by Löwe, Götz and Schöll.

proves that this hoc is an Accusative. Slightly different is Lucr. 6,379, where Wakefield (*apud* Munro *ad loc.*) would take hoc in the causal sense. Munro is clearly right in rejecting this explanation of the word. In like manner the passage Miles 1321

   Istuc crucior, a viro me tali abalienarier

shows that Stichus 9

     ......sed hoc, soror, crucior:
   Patrem tuom meumque....
   (13,14)...nunc inprobi uiri officio uti

is to be excluded from this context. In Stichus 41

     ......ego te hoc, soror, tametsi es maior,
   Moneo ut tuom memineris officium

hoc is plainly Accusative. For Miles 297 see below p. 40.

There is to my knowledge no instance of this construction in Terence. Was the graceful imitator of the Greeks led by his love of sermonis elegantia to avoid the construction? The only passage that I can call into question is Phor. 804, and since the causal hoc does not occur in the comicorum fragmenta, Kiessling *ad* Hor. Sat. 1,2,53 "wie öfters in der Sprache der Komödie" should read "wie vereinzelt bei Plautus." A similar judgment must be passed upon Lorenz *ad* Mil. 850 "hoc = 'darum'; derselbe Abl. Pseud. 807; 822 und öfters." The only other examples which Hand, Tursellinus III,92 and 93 cites as certain are: Lucr. 4,555 (now 553); 660 (now 658); 624 (now 622); Virg. Geo. 2,425 (Uss. *ad* Plaut. Aul. 248 takes Virg. Aen. 9,492 in this way); Plin. Epist. 2,19,3 hoc quod; Seruiana schol. ant. litt. *ad* Ecl. 10,18 (Duker pro-

poses here ob hoc against the MSS). If to these we
add Lucil. 6,29 (corrected by Müller to hac); Catullus
44,13 (where cod. Oxoniensis reads h̍=hoc); Lucr. 4,
360; 6,274; 864 (in all these instances, as in the cases
cited by Hand, the word stands in the formula hoc
ubi[1] at the beginning of a hexameter); 3,531 (where hoc
is a conjecture of Munro for the MSS. reading haec.);
Hor. Sat. 1,2,53f; 1,6,41; 1,7,10; we shall see that one
may well question the correctness of Kiessling's pro-
cedure in making this construction characteristic of
the language of comedy.

The construction was doubtless avoided on account
of the phonetic identity of hoc Nom. and Acc. sg., hoc
Abl. and hoc Adverb (= huc), which rendered the
form ambiguous. Careful writers could therefore em-
ploy the form only where the context left no doubt as
to its meaning. They could easily find substitutes for
it in the causal expressions ob hanc rem, ob hanc cau-
sam, de hac causa, hac causa (later also hinc) and the
like, or if necessary, in qua causa, qua de causa, quam
ob rem, *etc.* It was no doubt in part this feeling that
led to the juxtaposition of the Ablatives ipso, solo,
uno and the superlative maxime, although, of course,
no one would deny that these words at the same time
intensify or otherwise modify the meaning of hoc.
Another means of avoiding the locution was the phrase
ob hoc discussed below, pp. 73ff. Ter. And. 268 offers
ex hoc. The same purpose is imperfectly served by
the addition of a quod clause (causal), although in

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[1] Lucretius has similarly hic ubi at the beginning of a hexa-
meter in 6,446; 524; 836; (*cf.* Hor. Epist. 2,2,136). In Lucre-
tius 4,1093 hoc = "by this means."

some cases this clause is itself susceptible of a double
interpretation, and more perfectly effected by the addi-
tion of a quia or a quom clause, which last form of
correlation had a precourser in the Greek τούτῳ . . . .
διότι, as exemplified in Antiphon περὶ τ. Ἡρω. Φον. 3
τούτῳ ἐσώθησαν, διότι <εὖ> ἐψεύσαντο.

The causal Ablative eo is slightly more common in
its simplest form than is causal hoc. A typical exam-
ple of this usage is Plaut. Trin. 363 f.

> Nam sapiens quidem pol ipsus fingit fortunam
>   sibi: [malust.
> Eo non multa quae neuolt eueniunt, nisi fictor

The remaining instances in Plautus are: Bacch. 298

> Non me fefellit, sensi: eo exanimatus fui;

Bacch. 95; Capt. 837; 860; Cist. 7 (*bis*); Poen. 288;
Pers. 276; Rud. 876; Truc. 85. Trin. 372 (not 371)
may perhaps be placed here. Truculentus 180 is
doubtless an interpolation.

Poen. 478   . . . . uiscum legioni dedi
>   Fundasque: eo praesternebant folia farferi

is beyond doubt the right reading, but eo is here an
Ablative of means. I believe Ussing's interpretation
of Asin. 435 (= 432U) eo = "than he" is correct, but
the parallels he cites are not appropriate and do not
prove the point. There are to my knowledge only
these eleven certain instances in Plautus.

From Terence I can cite only the passage Hec. 238

> Enim lassam oppido aibant tum esse: eo ad eam
>   non admissa sum.

The passage Adel. 620 offers an instance of eo denot-

ing purpose or end, not cause. After Terence we first meet this pronoun in the Ciceronian age. For even assuming the correctness of the reading in Cato, De Agr. 22,3 (see Keil's critical note *ad loc.*), we must interpret it with Gottfr. Grosse (translation of Cato, Halle, 1787) and Holtze, Syntax. prisc. script. I,221 in the sense "for this purpose," "to this end" (Grosse: "die kosten dazu betragen ...."). In fact, notwithstanding the statement of Kühner, *op. cit.* II, p. 745 (*cf.* Hand, Turs. II, 410) to the contrary, the usage is well attested for Cicero himself and for Sallust. The instances are: Cic. De Div. 2,46 frater es; eo uereor; De Nat. Deor. 2,30 quocirca sapientem esse mundum necesse est, naturamque ...... perfectione rationis excellere, eoque deum esse mundum, omnemque uim mundi natura diuina continere; De Fin. 3,16 fieri autem non posset, ut appeterent aliquid, nisi sensum haberent sui eoque se diligerent; Sallust, Jug. 42,1 nobilitas noxia atque eo perculsa; Orat. Phil. 13 (= Maurenbrecher Fr. 1,77,13) antea malum publicum occulte, auxilia palam instruebatur, eo boni malos facile anteibant. It does not occur in these two writers without the connectives et, que or atque. From this time on eo occurs in its simple form in all periods of the development of the language, at least down to Boethius (De Consol. Phil. 3,3*pr*,4).

Here should also find mention the formula eo fit ut, as in Cic. Acad. 2,66; De Leg. 3,39; Sallust, Cat. 52,23; 53,4. The familiar type of construction Plaut. Most. 636

Quid eost argento factum?

along with hinc fit, inde fit, *etc.*, would perhaps lead

one to suppose that the eo here expresses an idea of separation or of source rather than one of cause. Yet on the other hand, when we meet with such instances as Plaut. Amph. 756

Eo fit quia mihi plurimum credo

(*cf.* Ter. Haut. 505, in which eo is correlated with a causal conjunction), and such as Plaut. Curc. 61 id eo fit, quia || ideo BEJ || , in which the subject of fit is expressed, we are led to conclude that the probabilities are at least as strong, that the Romans felt the causal force of the eo in this formula.[1]

Those who wish to study this locution more in detail may consult the following passages: Hor. Sat. 1, 6,89; 1,9,55; 2,8,65; Livy 2,48,4; 3,66,4; 71,6; 4,7, 11; 10,9; 5,16,4; 17,10; 20,9; 46,9; 6,5,5; 7,8,5; 19, 5; 8,8,8; 17,8; 9,11,11; 36,4; 40,9; 22,47,5; 29,1,20; 20,1; 25,12; 30,42,16; (Observe that in Livy this construction is confined for the most part to the first decade—*Cf.* Stacey, Die Entwickelung des livian. Stiles, in Archiv für latein. Lexikographie and Grammatik X (1898), p. 17–82); Velleius Pat. 2,67,4; Plin. Nat. Hist. 24,62; Quint. 2,16,4; 17,7; 4,2,80 (Bonnell reads aut); 119; 3,3; 11,3,29; for Tacitus (about fifty instances) see Gerber und Greef p. 351; Fronto 24*m*(N); Apuleius, Apol. pp. 500,17 (Paris edition of 1688); 509,2; 514,1; 525,8; *etc.*, *etc.*; Gellius 11,9,1; Censorinus, De Die Nat. 18,8; 8,5; 14,2; Victor, Historia Abbreviata 15,3; 38,5; 39,20; 40,8.

As in the case of hoc, so in that of eo, ambiguity (since eo may mean "thither," "to the end that"

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[1] *Cf.* also ita fit ut.

—expressing purpose— or "hence," with illative force) led to the infrequent use of the word, which was avoided by differentiation, giving rise to the forms ideo and eo usque.   Still other expressions, such as propterea, ob eam rem, ea causa, *etc.*, and later inde and ob id, contributed to the disuse of eo causal.

From the foregoing, particularly from the infrequent occurrence of hoc, it is clear that we can speak of a rivalry between hoc and eo in the simple forms only in a limited sense.   Both of these expressions are more frequently used in correlation with a causal or a conditional clause.   In Plaut. Mil. 298

> Primumdum, si falso insimulas Philocomasium,
>   hoc perieris.

hoc gathers up the cause just stated in conditional form (*cf.* below p. 47).   The only passage in Plautus that can possibly be considered to exemplify the usage is that quoted by Hand, *op. cit.* p. 93, Rud. 388

> Hoc sese excruciat animi,
> Quia leno ademit cistulam ei.

Munro also *ad* Lucr. 3,531 cites this passage as an instance of causal hoc.   The question may, however, be raised whether hoc is here Ablative or Accusative. A very close parallel is afforded by Trin. 1170

> Quom ille itast ut eum esse nolo, id crucior,

the only difference being that this instance has the passive (middle?) voice instead of the active.   Another type of construction which strongly confirms the assumption that hoc is Accusative, is that found in Stichus 9 ff. cited above, in which an epexegetical

Accusativus cum infinitivo stands in apposition with the hoc.   This is evidently also the view of Kühner, *op. cit.* II, § 126,3,b, who cites Stich. 9 ff., Mil. 1321

> Istuc crucior, a viro me tali abalienarier,

and Capt. 597 (should be 600)

> Crucior lapidem non habere me,

under the rubric "Der Acc. cum Inf. steht....nach den verbis affectuum."   The construction does not to my knowledge occur in Terence.   In fact it is not until comparatively late in the period of the Silver Latinity that hoc....quia, *etc.*, becomes at all frequent.   It is quite common in the Patristic literature from Cyprian on, usually in the correlation hoc.... quod, in which case ambiguity is usually avoided by adding ipso. Cypr. Epist. 30,5*e* qui ruerunt, hoc ruerunt, quod caeca temeritate incauti fuerunt; 31,5*p* iam hoc ipso quod non cessimus, uicimus; 6*m* nec hoc animentur quia multi sunt, sed hoc ipso || ipsud T || magis reprimantur, quia non pauci sunt; Arnobius 2,2*p* uel hoc ipso....quod...., quod....; Tertullian, Ad Nat. 1,5*p* cum tamen aliquos de nostris malos probatis, iam hoc ipso Christianos non probatis; Ambrosius Ex. 1,6,23(12 F) nam hoc ipso quod diuersae eadem sint naturae, simplicem....motum habere non possunt. Passages from pagan writers are Script. Hist. Augustae, Avid. Cas. 7,8; XXX Tyran. 26,7; Boeth. De Consol. 5,6*pr*,45.

Owing to the frequency of the correlative use of is, eo is far more common in this construction.   It occurs in Plautus (eo....quod or quia): Asin. 620; 844; Bacch. 319; Capt. 70; 994; Cist. 237; 492;

Pers. 785; 834; Rud. 24; 1114; Stich. 177; Truc. 272; Vid. 70; in Terence (under the form eo.... quod or eo....quia): Haut. 787; Eun. 415; Ad. 698; and in Cato, De Agr. 6,4 eo quia; 17,1 eo quia || ea quae Jocundus || ; 37,1 quod....eo. Here I would place also the passage from the Origines cited by Gellius 17,13,3 non .... eos .... eo postremo scribo quin populi et boni et strenui sient, "I mention them last not for this reason because they are not...." Gellius cites this passage in explanation of the quin in the sentence non idcirco Isocrates causas non defendit, quin id utile esse et honestum existumaret. "Isocrates' reason for refraining from the pleading of law suits was not that he thought it profitless and dishonorable." The usage is also found in Plautus[1] Trin. 341

> Non eo haec dico quin quae tu uis ego uelim et
> faciam lubens:
> Sed....

The construction represents the more usual non eo.... quia non (compare Asin. 844), and is parallelled by Ter. Haut. 554

> Neque eo nunc dico, quo quicquam illum sen-
> serim;
> Sed siquid, ne quid,

where an affirmative motive is stated, "I mention it now not that (because) I may have noticed anything

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[1] On obtaining access, after much difficulty, to O. Kienitz, De quin particulae apud priscos scriptores Latinos usu (Carlsruhe, 1878), I notice that he brings (p. 21) the passage from Cato into connection with Plautus, Trin. 341.

in him, but....", and with reversed order of the clauses, by Ter. Eun. 96 f,

> Non pol, quo....plus....diligam,
> Eo feci: sed....

A sed would naturally follow the two passages from Gellius. The second one (which Gellius cites first) bears on its face indications of being "made to order" by some rhetorician and not quoted from a work of literature. This construction is not recognized in Harpers' Lexicon, *sub voc.* quin. The correlation eo .... quod, *etc.*, further occurs in Rhetorica ad Herennium 3,4,7p; in Cicero's orations thirteen times, in Nepos, Eum. 11,5 (see addendum, p. 219 *infra*); in Celsus, B'ks 1–5, seven times. Its association with quod was so common (the two words being either separated by intervening words or in juxtaposition), that the words coalesced both in form and meaning (*cf.* Ital. ciò che < ecce + hoc + quod) so that eo quod (causal) comes to be equivalent to quod (causal). This coalescence is convincingly proved by the circumstance that, after quod, quia, quoniam take on the usage dico quod (quia, *etc.*) es(se)t = dico esse, eo quod is also (in late Latin) used in the same way—see S. Siluiae Perigrinatio ad Loca Sancta 8,2 dicent eo quod, "they will say that"; 8,5 retulit eo quod. Particularly instructive is the New Testament passage Mark 9,26(25), where the following readings represent the original ὥστε τοὺς πολλοὺς λέγειν ὅτι ἀπέθανεν:

1 Vulgate: ut multi dicerent quia mortuus est (so cod. Brixianus f and the majority of the ante-Hieronymian translations, with either est or esset).

2 Cod. Veronensis b: dicerent eo quod mortuus esset.

In the S. Siluiae Perigrin. the construction occurs pp. 48,27; 49,12; 58,9; 63,31; 64,13 and, with the infinitive, 66,6. In Justinian's Novellae eo quod is sometimes used to render διότι. In 679–680 A. D. in a judgment of Thierry III (printed in Lindsay, Handbook of Lat. Inscr. p. 127) occur the expressions dicerit eo quod porcione sua . . . retenirit and dedit in respunsis eo quod ipsa terra . . . . tenuerant. This coalescence justifies what would otherwise appear to be redundency in the excerpta ex libr. glossar. apud Götz, Corpus V,215,5 lampadas solstitium estibum (*sic!*) . . . . ideo lampadas dicitur eo quod ex eo die lampas solis . . . . (*cf.* Isidore. De Nat. Rerum 8,2 solstitium autem aestiuum ideo lampas dicitur eo quod . . . .; Etymol. 1,17,7 note a). See also Bonnet, Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours, p. 326. A similar cumulation of causal particles occurs in Isidore, Origines 1,4,16 a . . . . in omnibus gentibus ideo prior est litterarum pro eo quod ipsa prior nascentibus uocem aperiat.

The gradually weakening eo was replaced, as has been implied above, by ob id, ob hoc, ideo, idcirco, propterea, ob eam rem (causam), and other causal expressions.

It is a matter of great difficulty, even if it is not impossible, for us to know whether the Romans felt any difference between the eo in the type of sentences just mentioned and that exemplified by Plaut. Aul. 240

Eo dico, ne me thensauros reperisse censeas;

and Ter. Phor. 745

Eo perperam olim dixi, ne uos . . . .
Effutiretis,

in which eo looks forward to a purpose clause instead of a causal clause. The same difficulty arises in the case of the two correlations hoc (Abl.) . . . . quod and hoc (Abl.) . . . . ut (ne). However the case may stand, it is desirable for the purposes of modern grammatical study to draw a sharp distinction between the two constructions, and not to cite the latter type as an example of causal eo or hoc, as is sometimes done by modern writers.

This same uncertainty arises, when we inquire whether the Romans were conscious of a difference in meaning between the use of the Ablative in the form eo (hoc) . . . . quia, and eo (hoc) . . . . si (quia . . . . eo (hoc) and si . . . . eo(hoc)). If Nepos in a well known passage Hann. 2,6 used cum and si (apparently merely *varietatis causa*) to express two similar sets of relationships, with how much greater ease might a speaker have passed (either consciously or unconsciously) from eo (hoc) . . . . quia to eo (hoc) . . . . si! The construction occurs as early as Plautus (see Trin. 371(372?) || eo *om. cod.* F ||; Poen. 1194).

The answer to the question whether in these constructions hoc retains a strong demonstrative force, while eo remains purely correlative, is one which must have a more or less subjective coloring. Yet it is certain that hoc could not have been used extensively (and we are justified in assuming that it was used more extensively in the colloquial language than in the literary language) without sacrificing some, if not

all, of its demonstrative force. This statement holds true *mutatis mutandis* of the other formulae discussed in this chapter. In the case of the others, however, the rivalry of the two pronouns was sharper than in the present case, and the tendency to confusion greater.

NOTE.—Id causal or expressing purpose and hoc (Acc.) bearing the same meanings are of such infrequent occurrence that they need not be discussed here. Hand, *op. cit.*, does not mention them (he treats hoc causal throughout as an Ablative). The only(?) cases of this id in Plautus and Terence are: Plaut. Amph. 909; Capt. 680; Epid. 192; Mil. 1158; Terence, And. 157; 376; 414; Eun. 150; 323 (scholia, ed. Schlee p. 101,5 "*id*] propter hoc"); 393 (scholia, p. 102,1 "*id*] propter hoc"); 829 (scholia p. 109: "*id*] propter id"); 1005 (scholia, p. 112: "*id*] ideo"); Hec. 368; Phor. 259; Adel. 791 (scholia, p. 160,15). See further Kühner, *op. cit.* II, p. 212, Anm. 3.

2. *Eo cum comparativo = hoc cum comparativo.*

The instrumental construction "by this (so much) the more, less," *etc.*, and the Ablative proper (separation) construction are here to be distinguished. Hoc (Abl.) plus ne facito is cited by Cicero from the lex XII tabularum (see Schöll p. 153) in De Leg. 2,59. Both constructions occur with hoc and eo in Plautus and Terence. The following are the passages:

A. Instrumental hoc: Plaut. Amph. 166 f.

> . . . . dura hoc ‖ hec *codd.* E F; haec Z;
> *corr.* Angelius ‖ < magis > (*add.* Cam-
> erarius) servitus est

> Quod noctesque diesque adsiduo satis super-
> quest. . . .
> (254) Hoc adeo hoc conmemini magis, quia illo
> die inpransus fui;

Ter. Eun. 220 f.

> PHAED. Opus faciam, ut defetiger usque, ingra-
> tiis ut dormiam.
> PARM. Uigilabis lassus: hoc plus facies.

B. Ablative hoc: Plaut. Curc. 670 f.

> . . . . Hoc prius uolo
> Meam rem agere;

Pers. 764

> . . . . Oh, nihil hoc magis dulcest;

cf. Rud. 279

> Neque hoc amplius. . . . quicquamst;

Ter. And. 30 f.

> . . . . Quid est,
> Quod tibi mea ars efficere hoc possit amplius?

C. Instrumental eo: Plaut. Aul. 376

> Atque eo fuerunt cariora, aes non erat;

Cist. 298 f.

> Uideo ego te Amoris ualde tactum toxico,
> Adulescens; eo te magis uolo monitum.

Mil. 1080 Eo minus dixi, ne haec censeret me aduor-
> sum se mentire;

Most. 763 f.

> Nam ille eo maiore hinc opere sibi exemplum
> petit,
> Quia isti umbram audivit esse aestate perbonam;

so Men. 151; Merc. 971; Most. 902 a; Poen. 883; Rud.

92; Trin. 274; 856; (*cf.* Cist. 380 eo sum tardiuscula).
Ter, Ad. 698

> Quia tam misere hoc esse cupio uerum, eo
> uereor magis.

D. Ablative eo: Plaut. Mil. 926

> Eo potuit hercle lepidius nil fieri;

Ter. Haut. 62 f.

> . . . . Annos sexaginta natus es,
> Aut plus eo, ut conicio . . . . ;

Hec. 421

> Dies triginta aut plus eo in naui fui.

Cato has only hoc, and always in the phrase hoc
amplius (= praeterea), De Agr. 57; 94; 142; 157,10.
In the Rhetorica ad Herennium, on the contrary, the
hoc does not occur, while eo is found eight times,
always as an instrumental.

From the very first we notice a discrimination
between these two pronouns; we find the instrumental
use predominant with eo, and the usage that is devel-
oped from the true Ablative predominant with hoc.
This is very conspicuous in the case of Plautus and
the Rhetorica ad Herennium. In Plautus there are
twelve cases of instrumental eo to one of the true Abl.
construction and two of instrumental hoc to three of
the Abl. construction.

The distinction is still more apparent in the writ-
ings of Cicero. We find the true Ablative eo only half a
dozen times in the orations, philosophical writings and
the letters Ad Familiares and Ad Quintum Fratrem (*cf.*
Acad. 2,35 quid eo levius? De Fin. 1,41 quid eo mise-
rius dici aut fingi potest? De Nat. Deor. 3,23 nihil est

eo (*sc.* mundo) melius: nihil est enim eo pulcrius). In
contrast with this we find eo over one hundred and
forty times as an instrumental. Similarly in Varro,
Res Rust. eo = "than this" only once, 1,18,3 eo
plus, but is used with the other meaning about fifteen
times. Varro's use of the word is somewhat circum-
scribed. He joins it usually with magis, minus or
facilius. Sallust likewise has in Jug. 80,6 eo amplius =
plures denis, but with the other force eighteen times.
Both Nepos and Livy (Books 41–45 are not included)
use it only in this latter sense, nine times and one
hundred times respectively. Celsus in books 1–3 fol-
lows Livy, using in all but one passage (1,*pr.* eo . . . .
magis quoniam) the relative quo instead of quia, quo-
niam, ne, *etc.*

With hoc we find the case entirely different. Cicero
differs from Cato in that he uses hoc with the com-
parative supported by or introducing quia, quod, *etc.*,
that is to say, in sharp rivalry with eo, in thirty-four
passages in his orations (see Merguet, Lex. *sub voc.* II,
p. 468, d, *a*), and in twenty-two passages in his philo-
sophical writings (Merguet, II, p. 154,5, d, *a*). In the
letters (only partially collated) it occurs in both senses
(Ad Fam. 4,4,2 hoc ipso melior . . . . quod; 11,29,3 hoc
mihi gratius facere nihil potes;—the same words in
13,66,2; 74; 79; 16,22,2). Sallust avoided hoc en-
tirely, always using ad hoc instead of hoc amplius and
hoc plus. Varro, Res Rust. 3,10,3 has hoc minus
and hoc plus Ablative. Nepos has it only three times:
Alc. 11,2 hoc amplius; Timoth. 4,6 hoc plura . . . .
quod; Dat. 5,4 hoc maiore fore in discrimine, quod . . . .
Livy also only three times (books 41–45 are not in-

cluded) 1,23,8; 36,25,4; 38,26,7; being in each case
translatable by "so much the." Celsus offers us 3,5
(= p. 83 D) hoc ipso peius....quod; 8,1 (= p. 326)
quo latiora....sunt, hoc hebetiora. The lack of a
stronger demonstrative force in the determinative
makes its use as an instrumental Ablative impossible
except in a few cases, while the weakening of the
demonstrative force in hoc makes possible its use in
the other sense.

The following passages will illustrate the close
contact of the two constructions:

Valer. Max. 1,*pr.* mea par-
uitas eo iustius ad fauo-
rem tuum decucurrerit,
quo c e t e r a diuinitas
opinione colligitur.

3,3*Ext,*1 rex, quo patien-
tia pueri magis delecta-
tus est, hoc || et hoc A² ||
c e r t i u s perseuerantiae
experimentum sumere
uoluit. *cf.* 3,6,1; 4,7,2.

Plin. Nat. Hist. 8,1 quo
largiore aluntur lacte eo
tardiorem uisum accipi-
unt.

10,175 omnia animalia quo
maiore corpore, hoc mi-
nus fecunda.

14,80 uinum omne dulce
minus odoratum, quo
tenuius eo odoratius.

23,40 quo generosius ui-
num est, hoc magis ue-
tustate crassescit.

Sueton. Cal. 15 inferias..
instituit, et eo amplius
(=praeterea) matri Cir-
censes . . .

Jul. 38 nummos, quos pol-
licitus olim erat, uiritim
diuisit, et hoc amplius
centenos pro mora.

Florus 1,24(2,8),18 partem
....dari placuit eo li-
bentius, quod....

1,18(2,2),14 hoc inlustrior
n o s t e r (*sc.* exercitus),
quod....

Hoc amplius was a favorite and often employed
phrase (beginning with Plaut. Rud. 279), and was used
from Cicero (see Tull. 44; Phil. 13,50), and (?) Varro
(*cf.* Res. Rust. 2,10,9) on, in the sense of praeterea or
ad hoc. Instead of it, eo amplius appears unexpect-
edly in Suetonius (*vid. sup.*), Aggenus Urbicus, Ter-
tullian, De Pud. 5 (= p. 226,20), Lucifer Caralitanus,
De Regibus Apostatis 11 (= p. 61,24 H) and Gaius
2,172; 3,212. Instead of the usual eo secius, we meet
in Lucan 1,315 hoc secius, doubtless due to the poet's
strict avoidance of the determinative. Of the poets,
Lucretius alone, to my knowledge, uses eo with the
comparative. See 1,69 eo magis, with which com-
pare 2,125 hoc etiam magis; 2,826f. quanto.... | ....
magis, hoc magis, and Virg. Aen. 5,94 hoc magis;
Geor. 4,248 quo magis...., hoc acrius.

3. *Id est and hoc est.*

Id est is doubtless the older of these two formulae.
Hoc est is met for the first time in Lucilius 9,32f.

....in praeposito per
Pelliciendo, hoc est inducendo geminato L.

Id est occurs for the first time in Cato, De Agr. 57
(three times). The real rivalry between them begins
for us with the Rhet. ad Herennium and is, of course,
confined to prose. Although id est stands nowhere in
the work without a variant, yet the reading is scarcely
to be rejected in 1,16,26*m* and should probably be
retained in 1,6,10. Hoc est occurs seven times, serv-
ing always to define a general idea by   1) stating its
component elements, as in 1,7,11*p* hae tres utilitates
tametsi in tota oratione sunt conparandae, hoc est, ut

auditores sese perpetuo nobis attentos, dociles, beni-
uolos praebeant, tamen....; *cf.* 2,14,21*p*; 2,30,48*p*;
3,8,15*e*; 3,9; 16*p*; or by   2) adding a result brought
about by the idea defined, as 1,6,9*p* cum turpem
causam habemus, hoc est, cum ipsa res animum audi-
toris a nobis alienat; 3,11,20 mollitudinem uocis, hoc
est, ut eam torquere in dicendo nostro commodo
possimus....faciet exercitatio; 4,1,1*e* does not here
concern us (*cf.* Cic. De Nat. Deor. 1,98; Lael. 58;
De Fin. 2,91; Tusc. Disp. 2,30). Id est is used in the
same manner: 1) 1,16,26*m* inuenta ratione firma-
mentum quaerendum est, id est, quod continet accusa-
tionem, quod adfertur contra rationem defensionis.
2) 1,6,10 si persuasus auditor < fuerit, id est, > si ora-
tio aduersariorum fecerit fidem auditoribus.... With
hoc est 4,1,1*e* may be compared id est 4,11*p*; 2,26,40.

In Cicero we find convincing evidence that the two
phrases had fairly entered upon a course of rivalry
that was to last over five hundred years. It is clear
that Cicero carefully weighed the two formulae and
adopted or rejected each at different periods in the
development of his style. In his speeches down to the
year 56 B. C. occurs only one unquestioned case of id
est, Verr. 3,116, to which may possibly be added 3,67.
Concerning the sentence id est....lex, in Frag. A,
VII,29 (= B, 6,13 Orelli = pro Cornelio II, *anno* 65)
Sigon. apud Orellium II (1883), p. 72,12 says "sus-
tuli duas voces idest res, quae videntur in albo libri
positae fuisse eis vocibus declarandis 'cum ea feratur'
et locum hunc per se satis mendosum mendosiorem
reddunt." Hoc est, on the other hand, occurs Rosc.
Amer. (*anno* 80) 87; 103; 117; Div. in Caecil. (*anno*

70) 11; Impeachment of Verres (*anno* 78) thirty-seven
times; Tullio (*anno* 72) 50; Caecina (*anno* 69) eight
times; Cluent. (*anno* 66) 148; De Leg. Agrar. (*anno* 63)
1,2; 2,31; Sulla (*anno* 62) 49; De Domo (*anno* 57) 78;
Piso. (*anno* 55) (65)66; Milo. (*anno* 52) 24; Phil. (*anno*
44); 2,70. This last example "et consul et Antonius!"
hoc est dicere: et consul et impudicissimus, et consul
et homo nequissimus does not strictly speaking belong
in the present category (*cf.* De Nat. Deor. 1,98 and the
similar examples referred to on p. 54 *supra*), since
hoc est dicere (*cf.* Ital. cioè dire) forms an independent
sentence, in which hoc clearly retains its strong demon-
strative force. In other words, fifty-three cases fall
before and during the consulate, four after it. None
are later than the year 52. To these fifty-seven we
should add sixteen instances of hoc est in the De
Inventione against one of id est. After the year 56
are found twenty-four instances of id est in the ora-
tions, eleven of them in the Philippics. If Cicero was
consistent in abandoning hoc est in his later years, we
should expect to find only id est in his philosophical
writings, all of which fall in the fifties and the forties.
As a matter of fact, id est occurs over a hundred times,
hoc est only five times, four of these last being in his
work De Fin. (2,16; 98; 4,56; 71) and one in the De
Nat. Deor. (2,17). So also in his letters Ad Fam. hoc
est occurs only twice 14,2,3 (*anno* 58); and 5,12,8
(*anno* 57). Id est stands 5,17,3 (*anno* 57) and in eleven
other passages dating between the years 50 and 43[1].

[1] Cicero's correspondents do not follow the orator in this
particular. Hoc est was written by Asin. Pollio 10,32,2 (*anno*
43); Brutus, Ad Brutum 1,17,6 (*anno* 46); Caecina 6,7,4 (*anno*
46); Caelius 8,4,4; 8,9,3 (*anno* 51); Trebonius 12,16,1 (*anno* 44).

The same conditions are observable in the letters to
Atticus and to Quintus. In the De Oratore (*anno* 55)
hoc est occurs 1,180; 2,66. If in this formula hoc
preserves to some extent its demonstrative force (and
Cicero's consistent attitude would suggest that to
him the two formulae were not strictly synonymous),
the suggestion may with some hesitation be hazarded
that hoc est, the stronger term, was found by Cicero
more natural when in the height of his energy and
power, while id est was a less forcible expression
which he adopted after his spirits were crushed by his
banishment. It may be objected to this explanation
that it would be valid chiefly in explaining the usage
in the orations and not so likely to hold true of the
De Inventione. If we bring the use of the Rhetorica
ad Herennium into connection with that of Cicero, an-
other explanation is suggested. The Auctor may have
been under the influence of the Greek τουτέστι of his
sources, and may thus have determined the usage of
Cicero; or in view of the uncertainty of our knowledge
of the relations of Cicero and the Auctor ad Heren-
nium, it may be better to assume that the two writers
were independently affected by Greek influence, to
which Cicero's early training in rhetoric and philoso-
phy exposed him. It may be unnecessary to assume
the influence of any special book, since Cicero spoke
Greek fluently. In this connection it is interesting to
note that in the Archiv für lat. Lexikogr. und Gram-
matik X (1897), p. 478, Prof. J. C. Rolfe confirms
(with additional evidence derived from the letters,
philosophical and rhetorical works) the conclusions of
H. Hellmuth (Acta Sem. Erlangensis 1, p. 120f.),

who, following up a suggestion of Wölfflin (Philologus
XXXIV, 144), points out that between the years 62
and 54 B. C. Cicero gradually passed in his orations
from the spelling abs te to ab te.

The consistency with which Cicero's successors in
Roman literature adopted his later practice speaks
well for the soundness of his judgment, and suggests
that id est was the normal and natural phrase. Varro
shows id est sixty-eight times, not including the doubt-
ful passages, two in the Res Rust. ([3,2,18; 3,16,3])
and four in the De Ling. Lat., Livy four times (9,19,
7—Müller here omits id est—; 10,8,10; 37,15; 21,10,
8) in books 1–40, Vitruvius twelve times (see Nohl's
index), Velleius Paterculus 2,23,6; 48,4; 63,3; Vale-
rius Maximus 2,4,1; 6,6,5; 8,7*Ext.*2; 8,9,1; and Pe-
tronius offers seven instances (see Segebade u. Lom-
matzsch *s. v.*) while none of these writers use hoc est.

In Cæsar and Nepos both phrases are wanting.
Sallust alone has an instance of hoc est: Jug. 31,20
(in an oration) uos autem, hoc est populus Romanus
....satis habeatis. In the same oration in § 26 id est
occurs. The occurrence of hoc est in Catullus 83,6
is not surprising in view of the results that we have
reached in the first chapter.

A preference on the part of the writers of "Silver
Latin" for hic over is makes itself felt from Seneca
the Elder on, in the reappearance of hoc est (*cf.* Sen.
Contr. 1,1,19). Id est occurs 9,4,11 an hic pro patria
fecerit, id est: an illo tempore....; *cf.* 10,*pr.*16; Exc.
Contr. 7,7. Ascon. Ped. in Pisonianam 52 has hoc est,
and Seneca in De Ben., De Clem., Ad Lucil. returns
to the later Ciceronian usage, showing 44 (+ ? 3) cases

of id est. In De Ben., De Clem., and Ad Lucil. 1–25 hoc est does not occur. Pliny, N. H. books 2,3,6–15, 23–30 has hoc est 39 times, id est 20 times. Frontinus, De Aquis 7 has id est; De Contr. Agr. p. 58,14 (L) hoc est. Quintilian has id est: 3,7,15; 11,28; 9, 4,80; 1,9,1; 5,49; 11,12; 3,5,4; 5,10,86; *etc.*; hoc est: 3,7,1; 7,1,14; 8,2,20; 8,3,89 (a citation from Cassius). Pliny's Letters show id est nine times, hoc est five times; Panegyr. id est twice, hoc est eight times.

The following conspectus shows the attitude of the later writers:

	ID EST	HOC EST
Balbus, Ad. Cels.	page 100,10	None.
Hyginus Grom. De Contr. Agr.	9 times.	None.
" " De Gen. Con.	5 times.	None.
" " De Lim. Const.	None.	p, 170,4; 171,4.
Siculus Flaccus	Over five times.	
Fronto [M. Aureli uerba]	p. 213 N.	
Gellius, Noct. Att.	*ca.* 46 times.	9 times.
Florus	10 times.	
" De Virg. Or. an P.	Once.	
Gaius	At least 29 times.	
Suetonius	10 times.	3 times.
Acro ad Horat.	3,5,23.	3,5,24.
" " Verr.	3,116.	
Decretum Commodi	Once.	
Censor. De Die Nat.	16 times.	5 times.
Porphyr. in Horat.	355 + 31 doubtful or spurious.	1; 79 + 12 doubtful or spurious.
Volus. Maecianus	11; 14; 15; 29; 46; 65*bis*; 71*bis*; 72.	9; 10; 12; 13; 15; 65*quinquies;* 69; 72; 73.
Script. Hist. Aug.	None.	Hadr. 10,2; Helius 2,6; 5,4;
	None.	Did. 8,9; Pescen. 7,6;
	None.	Ant. P. 2,8; 7,3; M. Aur. 5,5.
	Macrin. 8,4; Max. II 2,4; 28,8.	None.
	Gord. 2,2; 3,2; 5; 33,1.	Gord. 3,3.

	ID EST	HOC EST
Script. Hist. Aug.	Avid. Cas. [4,3.]	Avid Cas. [3,7.]
	Gall. 11.3; 21,5.	Gall. 6,2; 19,4.
	XXX Tyr. 24,5; 32,5.	None.
	Heliogab. 4,2; 3; 17,4.	Heliogab. 24,3.
	Alex. Sev. 15,3; 45,6; 61,2.	*do.* 6,2; 25,7; 39,6.
	Aurelian 22,1.	Aurelian 32,4.
Frontinus		p. [16,4.]
Agennus Urbicus	p. 17,21; 25,9.	8,25; 23,24; 62,3; 63,12; 74,2; 77,7; 89,16.
Eutropius	One.	None.
Macrobius	At least 78 times.	Exc. Bob. V, p. 651 *bis.*
Boethius, De Consol.	2,7*pr.*11.	
" De Arith.	Often.	Often.
" De Geom.	Passim.	Passim.
Justinian, Novellae (Authentica)	Passim.	Passim.
Cassiodorius	At least 15 times.	Once.
Jordanes	Passim.	None.
Schol. Gronov. in Cic.	30 times.	P. 392,41; 397,29 (Orelli).

Patristic Literature:

	ID EST	HOC EST
Min Fel.	6.	None.
Tertullian	20.	None.
Cyprian	11.	6.
Arnobius	10.	Once.
Lactantius	11.	Once.
Firm. Matern.	8.	4.
Ambrosius	8.	4.
Paulin. Nolan. [1]	12.	None.
Augustin. Epist.	Often.	Seldom.
Lucifer Car.	None.	7.
S. Silv. Peri.	"sescenties."[2]	"raro."[2]
Diaconi Lib.	116,5; 6; 13; 19; 118,6.	None.
Anton. Plac. It.	None.	184,3; 188,14; 19; 190,20; 15; (*om.* C.); 180,8; 163,7.
Adamanus		224,11; 228,1; 229, 5, *etc.*
Faustus	11.	Hoc est dicere 5.
Planc. Fulg.	Often.	
Fulg. Episc.	Sup. Theb. p. 182,3; 5; 10; *etc.*, 28 times in all.	p. 183,9; 12.
Alcimus Avit.	14.	5.

The passages from the De Condic. Agr. are: pp. 114,8; 115,18 centuriae, id est plinthides, hoc est later-

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[1] Epistulae 1–46.
[2] Geyer *in indice.*

culi; 116,13; 25; 117,3; 120,8; 18; 122,16; of the De
Gen. Contr: pp. 125,14; 132,17; 133,1; [133,4]; 134,10.
In the case of the De Lim. Const. the evidence con-
firms the view of a separate authorship for this work
and for the De Contr. Agr. and the De Gen. Contr.
The references to Siculus Flaccus are: pp. 146,8; 154,
20; 155,22; 161,19; 163,25. Kalb, Roms Juristen p. 75
writes concerning Gaius "Wohl von keinem Juristen
annährend so haufig wie bei G." Et hoc est quod
uulgo dicitur occurs often, but hoc est as a parenthet-
ical explanative seems to be foreign to him. In Sue-
tonius id est occurs: Jul. 19; 56(*bis*); Oct. 26; 32; 88;
Galb. 3; Domit. 17; frag. p. 293; 305; and hoc est:
Tib. 24; Galb. 8; Vesp. 11. In Acro's commentary
in Uerr. there are at least five further instances.
For the Decretum Comm. see Bruns, Fontes p. 229,26.
Hoc est is found in Censorinus, De Die Nat. 1,2; 8,6;
13,3; 14,10; 22,14. The figures for Porphyrio are
based on Holder's index (1893). On Cassiodorius see
Bayr. Gymn. = Blätt. 1898 (XXXIV),559. The fig-
ures for the Schol. Gronov. were privately communi-
cated by H. Stangl of Munich.

This collection of examples shows that from Pliny
the Elder on down to the seventh century both for-
mulae were current. The only prominent writers to
avoid hoc est are: Tacitus, Florus, Gaius, Macrobius
and Jordanes. Id est always remained the normal
form and with a few exceptions the one more fre-
quently employed. One might at first glance be led
to suppose that these conditions are reflected in or
confirmed by the definition "id est · hoc est" in Götz,
Corp. Glos. IV, p. 350,27, in which id est serves as

lemma, and might therefore be supposed to be the
more frequent expression. Yet the examination of a
number of glosses of the same collection shows that
the writer (or compiler) did not necessarily make this
distinction. Many definitions appear in double form.
Thus "ob · propter" and "propter · ob" are found,
each in its alphabetical order. The translator of Jus-
tinian's Novellae felt id est to be the normal form,
since in translating τουτέστι he uses hoc est, but writes
id est when not under such influence, *e. g.*, in trans-
lating δή (47,2*pr.*) and in interpolating an explanation
of a Greek word (29,5*pr.* = p. 222,30 Schöll) biocolytas
(id est uiolentiarum inhibitores). (On the contrary
Ignatius, Epist. ad Phil. 12 interpolates an explana-
tion of ἀντίθεος by means of hoc est. Here the codex
Petavianus reads id).

The final triumph of hoc est is testified by the Ital-
ian cioè (< ecce + hoc + est).

To show how very close the words approach each
other in meaning and usage, it is only necessary to
cite a few parallel passages. For Cicero reference
may be made to Klussmann, Tulliana (Progr., Gera,
1887) p. 6 ff., who cites numerous instances without
calling attention to any difference in meaning. The
distinction with Cicero is, as we have seen above, in
the main chronological and not semasiological.

Pliny the Elder.

2,84....quam diapason
harmoniam uocant, hoc
est uniuersitatem con-
centus.

26,103 .... phycos tha-
lassion, id est fucus
marinus.

11,266....nisi quae pul-
monem et arterias ha-
be*ant*, hoc est nisi quae
spirent.

14,98 .... labrusca, hoc
est uite siluestri.

Numerous similar parallels might be adduced from
Pliny.

Quintilian.

8,2,20 ἀδιανόητα, hoc est
quae uerbis aperta oc-
cultos sensus habent.

3,7,1....quod genus ui-
detur Aristoteles atque
eum secutus Theophra-
stus a parte negotiali,
hoc est πραγματικῇ, re-
mouisse.

2,218....pulsum uena-
rum, id est spiritus,
magis sentiunt.

8,174....*g*innum, id est
paruum mulum.

3,5,4....de iure....de
re; illud rationale, hoc
legale genus Herma-
goras atque eum secuti
uocant, id est νομιχὸν et
λογιχόν.

Aulus Gellius.

19,1,18 τὰς τοιαύτας Φαντασίας, id est uisa istaec animi
sui terrifica, non adrobat, hoc est οὐ συγχατατίθεται....;
5,12,5 'Marspater,' hoc enim est (*cf.* 17,8,2 *id* enim
est) 'Marspiter,' itemque Iouis 'Diespiter' appellatus,
id est diei et lucis pater.

Cyprian.

De Domenica Oratione 17 quomodo in caelo, id est in
nobis per fidem nostram uoluntas Dei facta est ut esse-
mus e caelo, ita et in terra, hoc est in illis crede*re*
*nole*ntibus fiat uoluntas Dei.

Ambrosius, Exameron.

1,1,1(B) artificem ad ex-
emplar, hoc est ideam
intendentem.

1,7,25(13F) materia, id
est ὕλη, sicut philoso-
phi dicunt.

Censorinus, De Die Nat.

1,2 τῶν μέσων, hoc est....
media.

18,12 pentaeteridas....
id est IV annorum cir-
cuitus.

Macrobius, Som. Scip. 1,
3,7 φάντασμα uero, hoc
est uisum.

Ennius, Sac. Hist. *apud*
Lactant. Inst. 1,11,46
ZAN KPONOY id est La-
tine Iuppiter Saturni.

Priscillian.

6,107 = p. 79,8 ex agnis et haedis, idest ex duobus
in unum hominem nouum corporis et spiritus castifica-
tione suscepta pascha domini et pascha nostrum, hoc
est Christus in homine et homo inueniatur in Christo;
p. 102,9 (*cf.* Psalm 59,11) circumuersa mundi || Greek,
περιοχή; *varia lectio* circumstantia || idest perfidiae terra
uincatur ut calciamento pedum domini, hoc est Euan-
gelio pacis ostenso distruatur Dagon.

Macrobius.

Sat. 1,23,7 siue ἀπὸ τοῦ δαιομένου, id est χαιομένου, seu
ἀπὸ τοῦ δαιομένου, hoc est μεριζομένου.

Som. Scip. 1,5,17 in numeros pariter pares, hoc est in
bis quaterna, ut....in numeros aeque pariter pares
diuisio quoque ipsa soluatur, id est bis bina bis.

Lex Romana Visigothorum.

(Gai Inst. Tit. 8,3), p. 332 (Haenel) agnati sunt per
uirilem sexum....coniuncti, id est consanguinei fra-

tres, hoc est, de uno patre nati. item patruus, id est, frater patris, fratris sui filio agnatus est. ipso modo sunt fratres patrueles, hoc est, qui *etc.*

Similar parallels are of frequent occurrence and it is apparent that in many instances the writer has aimed only to secure variety of expression.

The chief uses of id (hoc) est are the following:

1. To translate a foreign word. Examples above. Add Tac. Ger. 40.

2. To give the application of a metaphorical expression. Varro, Res Rust. 3,4,1.

3. To explain a Latin expression by

a) giving a more familiar synonym. Varro, Res. Rust. 2,4,17 frendere....id est frangere.

b) 1) stating all its component parts. Auct. ad Heren. *ll. cc.* Cic. De Re Pub. 3,6 quare qui utrumque uoluit et potuit, id est ut cum maiorum institutis tum doctrina se instrueret....

2) *vice versa* stating a common characteristic of a number of particulars mentioned. Cic. Laelius 65 simplicem praeterea et communem et consentientem, id est, qui rebus isdem moveatur, eligi par est.

c) stating one or more of the component parts either 1) any chance one cited to illustrate the general expression: Varro, De Ling. Lat. 5,93 artificibus maxima causa (*sc.* nominandi) ars, id est, ab arte medicina ut sit medicus dictus; so 10,40, where the formula approaches exempli gratia in meaning.   or 2) that element which is

especially appropriate to the context, and to which the writer directs particular attention: Tac. Dial. 3,21; 9 *extr*; 22,8....orationibus, quas iam senior et iuxta finem uitae composuit, id est, postquam magis profecerat, usuque et experimentis didicerat quod optimum dicendi genus esset.   3) This often takes the form of a correction of a general statement: Plin. Nat. Hist. 2,131; Cic. Ad Fam. 14,2,3 quod de domo scribis, hoc est de area....

d) combining with a synonymous expression a statement of the ground (Cic. De Leg. 2,27) or purpose (object to be attained) for an action: Varro, Res Rust. 3,9,2....ornithoboscion instituere uolt, id est adhibita scientia ac cura ut capiant magnos fructus.

e) correcting a false application (intended to deceive) of a word by some other person. The implication is usually "A or B call it so and so, but if we should strip it of its fair appellation, we should find it in reality to be so and so" (*cf.* Klussmann, Tulliana): Cic. Verr. 3,67....cum apparitoribus, id est cum ui ac minis (Müller reads eo for id est); Milo. 24....ad praeturam gerendam, hoc est ad euertendam rem publicam, plenum annum et integrum. In the reverse order in Verr. 5,114.

It seems desirable at this point to call attention to the difference between id est and idque. They are not discriminated with sufficient care in Gudeman's note on Tac. Dial. 3,21 (in his larger edition p. 78). "In Germ. 40 id est = 'that is to say'. In other passages Tacitus uses 'idque': Ann. IV,11; 39; XIII,45." The essential difference between Germ. 40 and the

passages Dial. 3,21; 9*extr*; 22,8 is clear from the preceding analysis. Idque in the passages cited introduces (like καὶ ταῦτα) words which describe the circumstances under which an action takes place. These are usually quite surprising or contrary to expectation (hence not usually implied in the term preceding idque, while with id est, *etc.*, the definition is rarely, if ever, contrary to what would be expected), and to them especial importance is attached. They are in no wise to be regarded as a definition or a translation of the first term, such as are introduced by id est, hoc est, quod est (ὅ ἐστιν).

4. Ad id and ad hoc.

In each of these phrases two meanings are to be distinguished. They are used to express purpose and as an equivalent to praeterea. In the latter sense ad hoc is used to the almost entire exclusion of ad id. Sallust, in whose works it makes its first appearance, was especially fond of it (Constans, De Serm. Sall. p. 132 "Peculiari amore dilexit ac saepissime usurpavit, quam locutionem Lawsius parum recte contendit antiquorum imitationem redolere"). Certain peculiarities of Sallust's usage are possibly due to the development of his style. In his Bellum Catulinae, his earliest work, it is in five cases (A) correlated with other adverbial expressions: 37 primum omnium— deinde—praeterea—praeterea—ad hoc—; 14,3 praeterea—ad hoc—postremo—; 17,4 praeterea—ad hoc— praeterea—; 21,4 praeterea—ad hoc—; 30,6 ad hoc— itemque—.   (B) Not thus correlated it stands four times: 26,4; 31,3; 44,6; 53,3.   In the Bellum Jugur-

thinum the latter, more independent usage predominates (6,1; 67,1; 85,4; 89,5; 96,2; 102,6), there being only three instances of the former: 6,3; 75,5; 111,2 primo—praeterea—ad hoc—denique—; the first two having praeterea—ad hoc—, while ad hoc—ad hoc—is used in 31,28. In his maturest work, the Histories, only (B) occurs. In group (A) it is used either to introduce a substantive or an entire sentence, the former invariably extended by an adjectival modifier, which is usually a relative clause. In group (B) it is not until the Bellum Jugurthinum that Sallust uses the phrase to introduce a substantive. So 2,2 igitur praeclara facies, magnae diuitiae, ad hoc uis corporis et alia omnia huiuscemodi breui dilabuntur, at....; *cf.* 17,6. This is the only usage which occurs in the Histories (Orat. Phil. 21; Fr. Hist. 3,77,7 < ad hoc > a generally accepted conjecture of Kreysig, entirely conforms to the Sallustian usage). A transitional type is Jug. 91,5.

Nepos does not use the phrase, but it again finds favor with Livy, and was extensively used by later writers, especially by the historians Velleius Paterculus, Curtius (at least eight cases), Tacitus (eight occurrences), Suetonius and Florus (twelve times), as also by Pliny the Younger. The phrase is especially appropriate to narration and description.

In books 1–10, 21–40 of Livy's History (thirty-eight instances in all) it is in no single instance (40,25, 4 is not to the point) correlated with praeterea or another adverbial expression. It occurs both as introducing entire sentences (2,23,4; 6,12,6; 20,8; 9,24,6; 21,54,8; 55,7; 23,32,9; 28,35,2; 44,2; 5; 29,26,8; 30,

17,14; 32,17,15; 33,4,4; 9,11; 35,12,11; 38,5,5; 39,
53,4; 40,25,4) and substantives (2,59,11; 5,16,2; 8,12'
4; 23,22,3; 28,14,17; 29,4,6; 31,40,10; 33,19,10; 34,
52,6; 36,40,12; 37,23,2; 38,17,4; 39,5,16). Rather
loosely connected with the preceding words and form-
ing a kind of after-thought attached to the completed
sentence are 7,12,2 and particularly 30,34,1, in which
the added element may be regarded as a distinct sen-
tence with its verb suppressed for rhetorical effect.
Our Paduan historian somewhat extends the func-
tions of the phrase. He uses it to introduce an
adjective (21,52,10 sparsos et incompositos, ad hoc
grauis praeda plerosque....) and a participle (21,31,11
.... amnis .... pluribus .... alueis fluens,.... ad hoc
saxa glareosa uoluens nihil....tutum....praebet; 40,
9....debilitati....; ad hoc praeusti artus....; *cf.* 6,
11,6; 32,17,15.) With him the substantive is rarely
modified by a relative clause, and in one passage (an
extremely rare case) the substantive stands entirely
alone (28,14,17). In Sallust the grammatical form of
the member introduced by ad hoc corresponds to that
of the preceding member. Livy boldly varies the con-
struction: 6,11,6....inflato animo, ad hoc uitio quoque
ingenii uehemens et inpotens....; 5,16,2 multis simul
bellis, Uolscorum....Aequorum....ad hoc Ueientique
et Falisco....bello occupatos; 33,19,10....cum classe
....ad hoc leuioribus nauigii..... In certain pas-
sages Livy seemed to feel that this formula was not
sufficiently strong to meet his needs and has supported
it by etiam (33,9,11) and quoque (*supra*). In 23,22,3
it seems to be scarcely stronger than simple et. The
formula itself, however, serves as conjunction and is

not, like praeterea (in Bell. Afr. 19,1; 25,2; 50,2; Afra-
nius 72), supported by et or que (as Caes. Bell. Gall. 3,
17,3; Bell. Civ. 2,35,5; 3,96,1) or used with the cor-
relatives cum....tum (as in Cicero).

In the letters and Panegyricus of Pliny (fifteen
cases) we find a return to the Sallustian usage praete-
rea—ad hoc. He has further 9,26,8f. et rursus—et
statim—....ex eadem nota—simile his—et ibidem—
et—et deinceps—ad hoc—et mille talia.... New is the
order: ad hoc—praeterea (2,11,10). He employs pre-
dominantly the substantive, and was particularly fond
of the sentences like Livy 30,34,1. So: 2,14,1 raro
incidit (*sc.* causa)....insignis. ad hoc pauci (*sc.* nunc
causas agunt) cum quibus iuuet dicere; 2,11,10 con-
spectus augustissimus fuit. princeps praesidebat: erat
enim consul. ad hoc Ianuarius mensis....celeberri-
mus; Pan. 77*m* ad hoc tam adsiduus....ut; 1, 22,4
ad hoc quam parcus (*sc.* fuit)....; 6,33,4.

The Tacitean examples are with a single exception
found in the Annals. The only peculiarity he shows
in his usage of the phrase lies in the order of the
words in Hist. 1,6,10 multi ad hoc numeri e Ger-
mania ac Britannia et Illyrico, quos...., which, with
Ann. 12,20,5, offers the type of Livy 30,34,1. Ad
hoc postpositive, of which I can cite only the two
further examples Florus 1,24(2,8),16 elephantis ad
hoc inmensae magnitudinis....; Suetonius, Nero 46,
1 terrebatur ad hoc euidentibus portentis....is quite
possibly due to the influence of the analogous use of
praeterea. The main verb precedes it in Cic. Sex.
Rosc. 100 Audio praeterea....; De Leg. Agr. 2,32 dat
praeterea....; Cluent. 81 accusatus est praeterea....

Praeterea in Cicero and Cæsar is, in fact, as often postpositive as it is initial. The order Adjective–praeterea–Substantive (as above) was an especial favorite (so Cic. Verr. 2,170 multarum praeterea ciuitatum .... Numerous examples in Merguet's Lexica): so also Verr. 5,34 cuiusquam pr. dedecus; Sex. Rosc. 133 quid pr. caelati argenti and even Verr. 2,120 quod enim iste pr. genus. In all other cases Tacitus uses ad hoc to introduce an entire sentence 12,34,1; 13,34,14; 14,24,3; 31,15; 15,4,5; 38,13.

Florus like Livy, is fond of breaking the monotony of the exact grammatical conformity of the expressions preceding and following ad hoc. Examples are: 1,45(3,10),25 ciuitatem, uallo sudibus et fossa inductoque fossae flumine, ad hoc XVIII castellis....circumdatam....domuit; 2,21(4,11),5 quippe a senis in nouenos remorum ordines, ad hoc turribus atque tabulatis adleuatae....ferebantur.

The two following correlations are new: 2,13(4,2), 40 nunc—nunc—ad hoc—iam uero; 2,13(4,2),91 ad hoc—nouissime—, to which may be added from Paulinus of Nola, Epist. 5,4(p. 27,13–17) praeterea—ad hoc—postea denique.... The other instances from Florus (he does not use ad id = praeterea nor ad hoc to express purpose) are 1,7(13),4; 24(2,8),3; (2,8),16 (postpositive); 34(2,18),10; (2,19),3; 38(3,3),13; 2,21 (4,11),6.

Of the synonymous expressions, hoc amplius was the most extensively used. Super haec found favor with both Plinys (see Nat. Hist. 3,138; 7,98 and Epist. 8,4,2; 4,26,2). Ad haec occurs from Curtius to Boethius. Ad huc (with which adde huc could easily be

confused, especially when the following words were neuters) is very close to ad hoc in Sen. Nat. Quaest. 4,8 (other examples in Goelzer, Grammaticae in Sulp. Sev. Quaest. p. 92, Anm. 4), but ultimately became so weakened that Cyprian, Ad Dem. 12 could write adhuc insuper, and Alcimus Avitus, Contr. Eut. Her. I, p. 25,15....habemus hic adhuc amplius, quod mirari oportet.

Ad hoc accedere (*cf.* Bell. Hisp. 41 tum praeterea accedebat) and the like do not, strictly speaking, belong here.

When ad id is used in this sense, it is followed, so far as I know, by the relative quod, so that ad id quod = praeter id quod.

To express purpose both phrases are extensively employed. The rivalry between them had not apparently begun in Cicero. In Verr. 3,188; De Re Pub. 1,58 hoc retains its full force as πρωτότριτον, while ad id is used by him normally with the relative quod. Neither Caesar nor Varro have ad hoc, although Caesar, Bell. Civ. 1,81 has ad id expeditiores (corrected by Faern to ad iter), and Varro, Res Rust. *2pr*,5 ad id (*i. e.*, ad agrum stercorandum) pecus adpositum. Nepos has neither. So the rivalry between the two phrases begins with Livy. Aside from 1,8,4 ad id hominum and 2,3,6; 4,54,5, in which cases it is followed by the relative quod, ad id occurs in Livy (books 1–10) about sixteen times. Ad id regularly completes the meaning of a past passive participle, *e. g.*, 1,10,5 fabricato ad id apte ferculo; 4,37,4 ad id

missi; 7,39,14 qui ad id missi erant; 5,24,4 trium-
uirique ad id creati; 7,12,9 ad id accitus; 9,13,2 dato
ad id signo; 9,26,16 ad id parum potentes. The intru-
sion of hoc in such contexts is seen by comparing any
of the above passages with 1,47,9 alii iam ante ad hoc
praeparati. Parallel are also 5,52,11 collegium ad id
(*i. e.*, for celebrating newly introduced religious ser-
vices) nouum .... condidimus and 4,34,6 nec .... lato
satis ad hoc (*i. e.*, ut classi pugnari possit) amne. In
2,42,5 and 40,48,4 id and hoc respectively are strength-
ened by ipsum. Contrary to what might be expected,
if hoc retained its full force, ad hoc does not in Livy
look forward, as does ad id (see 6,42,1; 7,30,4 ad id
ualere, ut ....), to a following clause. This usage
occurs, however, in Pliny the Elder, books 9,13,23–30,
and it finds application not only as in Livy in conjunc-
tion with the participium passivum (9,122 ad hoc
product*us*; 29,34 detonsam) or activum (9,77 ad hoc
sufficientibus) and adjectiva (28,42 efficaciorem ad hoc),
but also (with the indicative as well as the participle)
prepares the way for a following ut or ne (9,182 ad hoc
prodest, ne ....; 27,146 ad hoc parens, ut ....). In
10,1 ad hoc .... datis pinnis, ad hoc = praeterea. In
these books ad id occurs but three times (12,63 porta
ad id una patente; 15,26 optima laurus ad id latifolia
siluestris; 28,193 efficacior ad id), always refering to
what precedes (*cf.* 9,86 ad ea). Pliny's preference for
ad hoc may be compared with his preference for hoc
est noted above. Conversely he uses ob id more
freely than ob hoc (see below).

Curtius appears not to have used ad id, but resem-
bles Pliny in the use of ad hoc, *e. g.*, 4,8,4 ad hoc

(*sc.* ut claustra Nili fluminis tueatur Polemon) XXX
triremes datae; 5,5,22 C ad hoc electi sunt; 8,1,12
spatiosas ad hoc (*i. e.*, ad feras uenandas) eligunt
siluas. Tacitus shows a decided preference for ad id
to express purpose. It occurs Ann. 1,81,7 suam ad id
curam; Hist. 2,22,9 contra praetoriani dispositos ad
id ipsum molares .... prouoluunt. Agr. 38,15 datae
ad id uires.

Florus has no instance of ad id expressing pur-
pose (neither does he use ad id = praeterea). In 2,17
(4,7),13 he uses in id missus for ad id missus.

Later writers use both forms. In general ad hoc
is more common in the patristic literature.

Ad hoc looking forward to a following clause (con-
secutive) takes on the meaning of tam (ita), as in
Lucifer Caralitanus, De Reg. Apost. 7(= p. 51,22) ad
hoc sis post tanta funera tua superbus, ut aut audiens
nos Dei sacerdotes temet conuertas ad Deum.

5. *Ob id and ob hoc.*

According to Reissinger, Ueber Bedeutung und
Verwendung der Präpositionen ob und propter in
älteren Latein p. 42 these two expressions occur for
the first time in Cicero; in the orations only ob hoc
(Caecin. 73 o rem praeclarum uobisque ob hoc reti-
nendum, recuperatores || hoc *omit.* Tegernseensis ||), in
the philosophical writings only ob id (always strength-
ened by ipsum, and in De Fin. 3,63; Tusc. Disp.
1,11; 13; 5,95 looking forward to quia or quod). In
De Leg. 2,12 *id* is a conjecture of Lambin. In Ad
Fam. 1,9,16 ob id ipsum is taken up by in quo ....
superasset. Sallust has et ob id Fr. Hist. 1,77,18

(= Orat. Phil. 18) and in no other instance. No other prose writer earlier than Livy uses the phrases. Ovid, Met. 12,91 has ob hoc, and Horace, Ars Poet. 393 ob hoc.

As in the case of ad id and ad hoc, so with the present formulae, the frequent use begins with Livy. In books 1–10, 21–40 ob id occurs thirteen times (+ ob ea three times), ob hoc five times (+ ob haec eighteen times). Livy, however, distinguishes carefully in usage between these two words. In all but two instances (25,16,3, where ob rests on conjecture [*cf.* Fleckeisens Jahrb. 1881, 683], and 34,42,6 et cum ob id se pro ciuibus Romanis ferrent) ob id is used to modify an adjective (including participles): 5,29,3 segnius ob id ipsum; 21,47,1 et ob id aptos; 25,13,7 castigatus; 23,13 ob id ipsum intentius; 35,7 quietis; 26, 13,6 diminuto; 28,2,2 occulta; 31,31,16 plures ob id ipsum; 34,55,1 indictarum; 37,24,5 celerius; 39,19,5 fraudi esset. Ob ea is similarly used 8,15,5; 40,1,5. Ea, however, in 40,45,7 has a definite antecedent, prodigia. Ob hoc on the contrary is used only with the non-adjectival forms of the verb: 25,37,17 ob hoc cum omnia neglecta apud hostes essent; 30,30,28 non nihil etiam ob hoc, quia....; 34,4,15 ne ob hoc ipsum contemnantur; 50,4 acclamarunt gratias se inter cetera etiam ob hoc agere, quod; 39,4,7 donec consuli ob hoc (proleptic) ipsum moranti Romam redire libitum esset. Ob haec stands almost invariably at the beginning of a sentence, and refers to the content of the preceding sentence: 1,40,5 after three reasons are stated they are summed up by ob haec ipsi regi insidiae parantur. 3,53,2 ob haec iis aduenientibus gratiae actae. 21,

53,11 cum ob haec taliaque speraret (*cf.* 8,23,3 ob haec cum); 9,45,8 ob haec uolgo in conciliis iactata; 37,48, 4 ob haec Aetolos sustulisse animos et adnuisse imperata facere; 5,51,1 et ob eadem haec; 9,38,9; 10,21, 13; 21,50,11; 63,5; 27,30,1; 28,39,13 gratias actum .....legatos.....misit; 32,22,12; 35,13,10; 37,34,8. The only exception seems to be 28,39,15 non grates tantum ob haec agere iussi sumus, sed...., since in 10,31,8 libri ob haec aditi, the word haec refers to a definite antecedent.

Seneca the Rhetorician in his use of ob id has kept closer to the correlative use of id by employing it only (he reads elsewhere id ipsum) when followed by a causal or substantive quia- or quod-clause (twelve cases: Contr. 1,1,13; 14; 4,6; 8,7; 2,1,20; 2,3,11; 14*bis*; 9,1,9; 10,5,15; Exc. Contr. 1,1). Ob hoc (ob hoc ipsum four times) is always used with a verbal form, nine times with damnare, accusare and petere (Contr. 1,1*pr.* 1,8,15 || ob hoc MSS. ab hoc *corr.* W. Müller || ; 2,1,34; 2,6,4; 5*tris*; 7,6,13 *bis*; 9,5,8; 10,3,10 < ob > hoc || ob *suppl.* W. Müller || ; 11 ob < hoc >. Exc. Contr. 4,3 ob hoc quod; 4,5 ob hoc maxime quia; 1,7,14 ob hoc ipsum quod; 7,2,12 ob hoc ipsum quod; 10,2,17 ob hoc ipsum, without quod; 9,1,6 ob hoc uidelicet ipsum ut....).

Valerius Maximus (4,1,7 ne ob id; 8,1,12 cum ob id; et ob id occurs: 2,10,7 (the codices Laur. and Bern. omit the et in this passage); 5,9,3; 6,1,7; 7,3*Exter*, 10; 8,14*Exter*,1; 9,3*Exter*,3) and Vell. Paterc. 2,112,2 show only ob id. Curtius agrees with Livy in using ob id with Adjectives and Participles, and ob hoc with the non-adjectival forms of the verb: 4,16,7 maiore et

ob id tutiore circuitu; 8,14,19 humo lubrica et ob id impediente; 4,16,23 auidum certaminis et ob id ipsum incautius; 4,10,22 nepos paruulus, ob id ipsum miserabilis, quod....; 4,14,4 ob id ipsum, quod ignoti essent, ignobiles esse; 7,2,2 horum ob id ipsum melior est causa, quod ego .... suspectus sum; 3,5,9 laxataque uis morbi ob hoc solum uidebatur, quia magnitudinem mali sentiebat; 6,3,13....Dareum ob hoc uicimus, ut seruo eius traderemus imperium; 4,10,31 ob haec ipsa (*i. e.* conditions just described) amantis animus in sollicitudinem suspicionemque reuolutus est; 9,8,24 ob haec. In 10,5,5 id is adjectival. The single instance of ob ea is 6,8,3, a very unusual passage.

Pliny, Nat. Hist., books 2, 3, 6-15, 23-30, has ob id over fifty times, ob hoc fifteen times. Typical illustrations of his usage are: Ob id: 1) with Adjectives: 7,104 ob id....utilis; 11,41 ob id....simile; 11,249 ob id....pernicibus; 9,9 Tiberio principi nuntiauit Olisiponensium legatio ob id (proleptic) missa uisum auditumque in quodam specu concha canentem Tritonem; 2) with Verbs: 2,43 captus....traditus; especially with verbs of naming: uocare (9,38; 109; 12,54), appellare (11,244), cognominare (7,68; 8,33 ob idque); 15,13. Ob hoc: 9,89 consectantibus; 8,42 magna his libido (*sc.* est)....et ob hoc....ira; 11,99 appellatus; 2,146 quae ob hoc fingitur. Ob hoc occurs also 8,109; 122; 10,17; 212; 11,198; 13,28 *et al.*; et ob hoc: 12,45; ob hoc ipsum: 9,75. Both ob id and ob hoc are used by decided preference with the non-adjectival forms of the verb.

Frontinus has nothing new to tell us.

Pliny the Younger uses ob hoc exclusively, once

looking backward (5,19,6 sanguinem reiecit adque ob hoc in Aegyptum missus a me....), in all other instances pointing to a following quod (causal), ne or ut. The instances are 4,8,4 te quidem, ut scribis, ob hoc maxime delectat auguratus meus, quod....; 6,1,2 reuertar, uel ob hoc solum, ut experiar an....; 7,3,3 tempus est te reuisere molestias nostras, uel ob hoc solum, ne....; 7,7,2 te negotiis distinere ob hoc moleste fero, quod....non potes; Ad Traian. 29(38),2 ipse enim dubito ob hoc maxime, quod....; 75(79),2 quod in notitiam tuam perferendum existimaui ob hoc maxime, ut....; 49(53),1 est aedes uetustissima Matris Magnae aut reficienda aut transferenda; ob hoc praecipue, quod....

Tacitus has only ob id (since he writes ob haec instead of ob hoc) and this only in the Annals (*cf.* Wölfflin, Phil. XXV,XXVI,XXVII): 3,42,9 Iulius Indus....discors Floro et ob id nouandae operae auidior; 3,75,9 sed Labeo incorrupta libertate, et ob id fama celebratior; 6,9,8 seu composerat quaedam in Gaium Cæsarem ut impudicum, siue ficto habita fides. atque ob id conuictu principis prohibitus cum....; 6,8,2 ausus est....M. Terentius, ob id reus, amplecti (*sc.* Seiani amicitiam); 6,25,12 actae ob id grates decretumque (*sc.* est); 14,60,7 actae ob id de ancillis quaestiones....; 2,35,4 Piso....ob id magis agendas (*sc.* res) censebat, ut....; 2,66,9 Cæsar....Pomponium Flaccum, ueterem stipendiis et arta cum rege amicitia eoque accommodatiorem ad fallendum, ob id maxime Moesiae praefecit. Ob ea occurs Ann. 2, 87,3; 11,25,17. Ob haec occurs 12,65,3; 13,41,18; 14,64,10.

Suetonius has both phrases. He felt id to be so weak a word that he reinforces it with ipsum. Otho 1 quamuis ob id ipsum (quod praepositos suos occiderant) promotos (*sc.* milites) in ampliorem gradum.... sciret; Julius 8 colonias Latinas ad audendum aliquid concitasset, nisi consules....legiones paulisper ob id ipsum retinuisset; Tib. 65 collegam sibi adsumpsit.... quem longo interuallo absens ob id ipsum susceperat; Galba 10....adstante nobili puero, quem....ob id ipsum acciuerat, deplorauit temporum statum; Vitel. 14 quosdam....ob id ipsum ("simply on the charge") quod...., interemit. The only exception is Dom. 10 impudicos probauerant et ob id (n)ullius momenti esse potuisse. In the Lives of the Cæsars there are three instances of ob hoc (always et ob hoc): Aug. 94 Augustum natum mense decimo, et ob hoc Apollinis filium existimatum; Dom. 17 professus....conspirationis indicium et ob hoc admissus; Tib. 70 imitatus (*sc.* Tiberius est) Euphorionem et Rhianum....et ob hoc plerique....multa de his ediderunt; Frag. Gram. 3 et ob hoc repudiatus; 16 suspectus....et ob hoc remotus; Frag. Rhet. 5 uel magis ob hoc.

Of the later writers the following show only ob hoc (or ob haec):

Justin—in every case at the beginning of a sentence—(ob hoc: 12,3,7 diebus natis; 16,1,5 gesturus; ob haec: 12,6,15; 13,4; 17,2,15; 20,2,5). Script. Hist. Aug. (ob hoc: Hadr. 3,3; 10; M. Ant. 7,3; 14,5; Verus 3,6; Hel. 3,8; Commod. 4,8; Pert. 7,2; Did. Jul. 3,7; Sev. 9,10; Pesc. 2,3; Car. 3,3; 4,5; 8,3; Geta 2,2; 4; Heliog. 9,2; Alex. Sev. 63,5; Maximini 11,8; Gord. 28,5; Gall. 2,2; XXX Tyran. 22,3; and

one further passage; ob haec: Alex. Sev. 50,2). In this work atque ob hoc and et ob hoc are favorite phrases, and ob hoc tends to gravitate toward the following ut or quod, *etc.*, in some instances standing at the very end of its clause just before these conjunctions. De Viris Illustribus (ob hoc: 11,2; 26,3; ob haec: 33,10; 48,5; 56,5). Aur. Vict. Hist. Abbr. (20, 17 ob haec tanta; 39,41 ob ea).

Thus we see that within a period of four generations from their first appearance in the literature, these two phrases, probably following the analogy of the older phrases ob eam rem (eas res), ob eam causam, and of eo, ideo, propterea, *etc.*, developed a great variety of usages. The present sketch is of course only an outline. Their history can be written only by viewing them in connection with the other causal adverbs and adverbial phrases. By the time of Pliny the Younger both phrases had come to be so freely used that the individual writers show great variety in their employment.

B. THE CORRELATIONS HIC—ILLE, HIC—HIC, ILLE—ILLE, *etc.*

In these correlations we likewise find clear indications of a weakening of meaning of the pronoun hic (as also of ille). For iste—ille see below pp. 132–137. We begin with the correlation—

1. Hic—ille, since it was the normal form by which contrasts were expressed, and was doubtless developed as early as the other two phrases, since it is as old as the words themselves. Such natural con-

trasts occur not infrequently in Plautus and Terence and call for no special comment. A word may not be amiss, however, on the relative position of the elements introduced by these words. With the Auctor ad Herennium it had become a matter of indifference which of the two pronouns preceded, as is shown by 4,19,26 membrum....articulus....inter huius generis et illius superioris uehementiam hoc interest: illud (the former, membrum) tardius....uenit, hoc....crebrius peruenit .... itaque in illo genere ...., in hoc autem.... While it is true that the three sets of contrasts huius—illius, illud—hoc, illo—hoc are not strictly coordinate, yet illud—hoc and illo—hoc stand in the same relation to huius—illius, as that in which this last correlation stands to mem.—art. The order huius—illius is readily accounted for by the widely extended Roman practice of employing hic at the beginning of a new thought to refer to an immediately preceding idea, a usage similar to the normal usage of is. Various reasons could be suggested that might have motivated the change to the order illud—hoc. Livy makes the same change 39,53,3 (Demetrius).... Perseus...., hunc....illum....; illum....hunc (*cf.* 22,39,4 Terentio .... Hannibale .... hic .... ille ...., illo .... hoc ....). Cicero and Velleius Paterculus seemed to find nothing objectionable in a sustained series of these alternatives recurring in the same order: Orat. in Cat. 2,25 ex hac parte....illinc, hinc.... illinc, hinc.... illinc, hinc .... illinc, hinc .... illinc, hinc .... illinc, hinc....illinc,....denique....; Vell. Pat. 2,84,1 in hac parte....*in* illa, hinc....illinc, haec ....illa, hinc....illinc,....denique.... Velleius has

clearly modeled his sentence on Cicero's, but has improved upon it by introducing the agreeable change from Adverb to Adjective. Pliny the Younger 9,7,3 f. varies it still more: duae (*sc.* uillae). altera....altera; illam .... hanc, haec .... illa: haec .... illa; illic.... hic: illa....haec: ex illa....ex hac.... The correlation is rare in Cicero, notwithstanding the general acceptance of Raschig's conclusion that it is common in the orators and rhetorical writers. The Ciceronian example is paralleled by Cyprian, De Cath. Eccl. Unit. 19 hic (*sc.* in lapso)....illic, hic....illic, hic....illic, hic....illic, hic....illic, lapsus....ille, lapsus....ille .... The order ille....hic recurs in Sallust, Cat. 11,2; 54,2; Jug. 85,2 (*cf.* Cat. 12,4 f; 58,14; Jug. 85,22), who also has in Jug. 94,5 Romanis hostibusque.... his, illis.... Both orders occur in Curtius, *e. g.*, 3,1,17 illa....haec 3,11,24 mater coniunxque Darei: illa...., haec....; 6,1,8 illi....hi....; 4,17 illos.... hos....; 10,2,16 illos....hos....; 4,1,40 has aut illas partes secuti. His natural order is thus seen to be ille....hic, since in the last passage he had no choice but to follow custom, which had already established the invariable order hic....ille in the brief phrases hic—illic, hic et (atque, aut, uel) illic, et (aut, uel) hic et (aut, uel) illic for the adverbial forms as well as for the substantive and adjectival forms of the pronouns. In Tacitus the instances of the correlation are about equally divided between the two orders. By the later writers both orders are freely used.

In our discussion of the meaning of this correlation we shall find it desirable to distinguish between the adverbial forms on the one hand and the substan-

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tive and adjectival forms on the other. We take up first the latter class.

In the examples thus far cited each demonstrative retains its full and normal meaning. This is also true to a certain extent of the so-called rhetorical usage of this correlation, in accordance with which the two pronouns are employed to refer to two antecedents mentioned in the context immediately preceding, so that they take on the meaning "the former—the latter." The earliest extant example is, as is well known, that found in a fragment of Accius (frag. 4 p. 137 Ribb.).

> Tu pertinaciam esse, Antiloche, hanc praedicas,
> Ego peruicaciam aio et ea me uti uolo:
> Haec (*sc.* peruicacia) fortis sequitur, illam in-
> docti possident.

From the semasiological standpoint this usage scarcely differs from the normal usage of the pronouns, since haec refers to the quality that the speaker wishes to possess, while illam refers to that in which he would have no interest. We may the more confidently assume that, although for the most part, Accius gave in his tragedies a fairly close translation of the Greek original, he was not influenced in the present instance by the Greek οὖτος and ἐκεῖνος, or even by ὁ μέν.... ὁ δέ to use haec—illam to express the contrast, since the above passage bears on its face clear indications of being an original contribution of the Roman poet.

If we now turn to Cicero's De Nat. Deor. 1,47 we shall find for the first time in a Roman prose writer a usage which implies an important change in the mean-

ing of the word: nam Cotta meus modo hoc modo illud (*sc.* facit). In this passage neither pronoun has a definite antecedent. The vague antecedent of hoc does not stand any closer to the speaker's sympathies, nor is it locally or temporally closer to him than that of illud. In other words all deictic force of the two pronouns is lost and they serve only to indicate that the objects referred to are of different characters, "one thing—another." They thus become synonymous with alius—alius, (not alter—alter, which refer to two, usually definite, antecedents), and like alius—alius, do not imply that only two alternatives are possible (as would aut hoc aut illud), but rather indicate that an indefinite number of possibilities exists. This is perhaps true likewise of Ciceros's Laelius 13 qui (*i. e.*, Socrates) non tum hoc tum illud ("not now one view, now another"), ut in plerisque, sed idem semper (*sc.* dicebat); although it must be admitted that in view of Cato Maior 66, where speaking of the same question, "is the soul immortal?" Cicero says atqui tertium certe nihil inueniri potest, the choice seems rather to be limited to the affirmation and denial of immortality. No such limitation can be assumed in Sallust, Hist. (Orat. Phil.) haec atque illa temptans.

Yet the phrase does not necessarily imply a large number. Quite to the contrary in Verr. 1,53 non dicam illinc hoc signum ablatum esse et illud, hoc dico, nullum te Aspendi signum, Verres, reliquisse; and in De Leg. Agr. 2,55 uectigalia locare nusquam licet, nisi in hac urbe hoc aut illo ex loco hac uestrum frequentia it implies that although three or even more alternatives are possible, yet the possibilities are few

in number. In the former passage Cicero was not, of course, thinking of any particular statue; that is to say, the antecendents of hoc and illud are not definite. Still the implication is "I do not mention this particular statue or that particular statue, though able to refer to special instances." (Compare the use of quidam refering to an antecedent, which, though definite in the mind of the speaker—*e. g.*, quendam nominare possum "I might mention a certain individual" —remains, through the intention of the speaker, indefinite in the mind of the person addressed). In the latter instance the audience was familiar with the loca ubi uectigalia locare licet, but it still remains a matter of uncertainty and of unimportance to which locus each pronoun refers. The phrase thus approaches unus atque alter in meaning. De Inuent. 2,99 si hoc aut illud fecisset aut ni sic fecisset implies neither that the alternatives are few or many. A curious and rare usage is Virgil, Ecl. 7,21 in which hos (*sc.* uersus) and illos (*sc.* versus) look forward to the remainder of the amoebean poem. From the patristic literature we may cite Cyprian, Ad Don. 3 *e*; Arnobius 1,11 *p*; 1,59,23[b]*e*; 24*m*; 2,13*p*; Augustine, Epist. 11,3 natura . . . .in se habeat haec tria. . . .: primo ut sit, deinde ut hoc uel illud sit (*i. e.*, qualitatem habeat), tertio ut . . . .; then follow hoc uel illud, aut hoc quidem aut illud, hoc uel illud, hoc uel illud, used as a single word (like the Greek philosophical categories πρὸς τί, *etc.*).

Even when the number of alternatives is limited to two, it may occasionally remain uncertain to which antecedent each pronoun refers. For example, in Livy 2,51,9 his atque illis refer to two Roman armies. It

is impossible to determine from the context to which each pronoun refers, and indeed it does not matter, because neither army is nearer to the speaker in time, place or interest, and hence neither should be definitely specified by hic or ille. That is to say, we have now reached a stage at which these pronouns have lost all their demonstrative force and mean simply "one—the other" with no reference at all to a definite antecedent. The same interpretation must be put on Livy 5,40,3; *cf.* 10,14,2. The usage was not frequently employed by prose writers. Florus offers an example 2,13(4,2),77 inter hos (*sc.* Caesarianos uel Pompeianos) atque illos duces, if we are not to assume in the light of section 5 hinc "on Caesar's side". . . .inde "on Pompey's side", section 14 ille (Pompey) . . . . hic (Caesar) and section 48 illi (Pompey's cavalry). . . .hi (Caesar's German infantry) that Florus' sympathies were more with Caesar, and that in consequence of this hos means Caesarianos. Hinc uel illinc (§ 44), like the passage in question, remains uncertain. Compare further Anon. Decl. in Catil. 121; Dictys Cretensis 2,2 his aut illis; Placitus 3,3 aut hoc aut illo modo; Arnobius, Ad Nationes 4,4*p*.

When the antecedent still remains indefinite, but the number of alternatives is unlimited, each pronoun serving simply to suggest one example out of any number that might indifferently be chosen, we have the weakest stage of meaning to which this correlation sank. Of the original elements of its meaning there remains only the implication of a contrast, but even here the contrast is often not between the two antecedents themselves, but between the activities they

exhibit or certain qualities they possess. Even this
contrast has no emphasis laid upon it, but assumes the
form "two different objects exist" rather than the
form "the two objects are different." This usage is
largely confined to poetry, particularly to the epic
(in its widest sense), though not unknown to prose
writers. A typical example is Virgil's Aeneid 7,637 f.

> Classica iamque sonant; it bello tessera signum.
> Hic gladium tectis trepidus rapit, ille frementis
> Ad iuga cogit equos clipeumque . . . . ;

cf. 4,157

> Gaudet equo, iamque hos cursu, iam praeterit
>   illos;

5,441

> Nunc hos nunc illos aditus, omnemque pererrat
> Arte locum.

Further examples are: Manil. 1,191 nunc his nunc
illis regionibus; Sil. Ital. 5,150 nunc hos nunc illos;
Stat. Thebais 2,589 hos . . . . illos; Orestis Tragoedia
852. Lucan, though a careful imitator of Virgil,
offers no instances, unless we may so interpret 6,277,
which perhaps falls under the preceding type. The
usage is found in the lyrics of Horace, *e. g.*, 1,1,7–8;
et al. From the prose literature we may cite Florus
1,18(2,2),35 in hos uel illos ictus mobilia rostra speci-
men uiuentium praebebant; Plin. Epist. 6,20,14 hi . . .
illi with preceding alii . . . . alii . . . . alii . . . . and follow-
ing multi. The indifferent character of this antece-
dent is clearly made manifest in such a passage as the
following: Virgil, Aen. 6,315

> Nauita (*sc.* Charon) set tristis nunc hos nunc
>   accipit illos,
> Ast alios longo submotos arcet harena;

Macrobius, Sat. 1,24,1 laudare hic memoriam, ille
doctrinam, cuncti religionem. It was this absolute
indifference of the antecedent that made it possible
for Horace to write in Sat. 1,1,112

> neque se maiori pauperionum
> Turbae comparat, hunc atque hunc superare
>   laboret

in precisely the same sense with Virgil, Aen. 4,157.
Finally a passage in which the words no longer stand
in parallel syntactical relation, Juv. 10,196 f.

> . . . . pulchrior ille
> Hoc, atque ille alio, multum hic robustior illo.

As soon as it became possible thus to use these two
pronouns to refer to entirely vague and indefinite
antecedents, it became possible to extend the series
indefinitely by repeating either pronoun. Thus multi-
membral contrasts or series originated. Such a series
is found in Ennius (see below) and Lucretius 3,311
(the discussion is on the character of man as depend-
ing on the prominence in his nature of one or another
of the three elements)

> . . . . procliuius hic iras decurrit ad acris
> Ille metu citius paulo temptetur, at ille
> Tertius accipiat quaedam clementius aequo;

cf. Virg. Geor. 2,505–8 hic . . . . hic . . . . hunc . . . . ; Hor.
Sat. 1,2,41–45 hic . . . . ille . . . . hic . . . . hic . . . . hunc . . . .
quin etiam illud accidit ut cuidam . . . . ; *cf.* 1,4,27 ff. hic

....hic....hunc....Albius....hic....; Ode 3,1,9–
13 Est ut uiro uir....hic....hic....ille....; Lucan
7,774–776 ille....ille....hunc....in hoc....in Cæs-
are....; Stat. Sil. 2,1,213–17 hos....hos....his....
his .... hos....illos .... hos....; 2,2,45–50 haec....
illa....haec....haec....; 4,3,50 hi....hi....illi....
hi....; Theb. 4,299 ff. hi....hi....his....his....
his....ille....ille....hos....; Juv. 3,69 f.

> Hic alta Sicyone, ast hic Amydone relicta,
> Hic Andro, ille Samo, hic Trallibus aut Ala-
>   bandis,
> Esquilias....petunt....

10,225 ille....hic....hic....ille....huius....; Clau-
dian 5,410 ff. hi....alii....ille....ille....ille....hic
....hic....hic....hic....

The use of the pronouns as indefinites in an ex-
tended series naturally admits *varietatis causa* other
indefinite nouns or pronouns into the series. So cui-
dam and uiro uir above. Similarly used are alius
(Lucan 2,183 f. hic....alius....ille....), alter (Calp.
Ecl. 10,48 f. hic....alter....ille....; Statius, Sil. 5,
3,185 ff. alter....alter....alter....hi....hi....hi....
illi....), pars (Ovid. Met. 11,29f. hae....illae....pars
....; 11,486 pars....pars....hic....hic....; Lucan
10,128–131 hos....alios....haec (*sc.* pars)....pars
altera....pars....; Stat. Sil. 3,1,118–125 his....illis
....pars....pater ipse....). Theb. 2,551 offers hos
....illos....nec paucos....

So also the prose writers: Plin. N. H. 13,40 aliis
....aliis, his....aliis, ...quibusdam aliud....aliud
.... (in pairs) ita fiunt IXL genera; Plin. Panegyr.

25*e* aliquis....alius....hic....ille....; Epist. 4,24,3
quidam .... alii .... huic .... hic .... alius .... illum
....; Gellius, N. A. 1,9,9 alius....item alius....hic
....ille....; Apul. Met. 2,29 (p. 66). The possibili-
ties of such a series are illustrated by Gellius, N. A.
Praef. 6–7 alii....alii....ille....hic....alius....par-
tim .... quidam .... alius .... atque alius .... et item
alius....sunt etiam qui .... sunt item qui .... sunt
adeo qui....et....et....et.... (with nouns omitted)
est qui....est qui....et....et....est item qui....est
....est praeterea qui....est itidem qui....est qui
....sunt item multi qui....neque item non sunt qui
....aut....aut....aut....et quaedam alia....mul-
tasque....nos uero.....

Instances of the insertion of a proper name in
such a series are very uncommon, the only ones known
to me being those from Horace and Lucan cited above,
while Plin. Epist. 4,24,3 concludes a series with nos
ipsos. In Horace, Epist. 2,2,59 f. we read tu....hic
....ille; 91 ego (understood) is contrasted with hic.
Statius, Sil. 5,3,185 concludes a series with tu; 3,1,118
with pater ipse.

The attentive reader has doubtless already ob-
served that in this category no passage from a prose
writer has been cited in which hic and ille are unac-
companied by some other indefinite word, as well as
that the larger part of the indefinite bimembral alterna-
tives is made up of the brief expressions nunc h. nunc
il., iam h. iam il.

The corresponding adverbial correlations are of
much more frequent occurrence than the substantive
and adjectival. In Hand, Turs. *s. vv.* hac, huc, *etc.*,

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is found a good collection of instances of these correla-
tions. They were used from Plautus on down to
the latest period. We distinguish: 1) hic—illic, 2) hinc
—illinc, 3) huc—illuc, 4) hac—illac. These phrases,
like those discussed above, show both the stronger and
the weaker meaning. Huc—illuc and hinc—illinc are
by far the more frequent forms; hac—illac rarely
occurs, hic—illic only occasionally.

Hic—illic is first found in Plautus, Most 605,
where the slave in reply to the usurer's repeated de-
mands for his interest exclaims faenus illic, faenus hic
(that is, "faenus everywhere"). The phrase is already
used of entirely indefinite antecedents. Catullus 6,9

> Puluinusque peraeque et he*i*c et ill*ei*c || *sic* Baehr.||
> Attritus....

testifies to the substantive usage exemplified by Livy
2,51,9 (cited above), which is found in the adverbial
form in Livy 8,37,6 nec hic nec illic. So Catullus 10,
21 ne*que* hic neque illic. Ovid. Met. 7,581

> Hic, illic, ubi mors deprenderat, exhalantes

is like Most. 605 (see also Virgil, Geor. 1,54; 69 f.) In
Varro, Res Rustica 3,5,6 aut hic aut illic is definite.

2) *Hinc—illinc* is also first met in Plautus, Amph.
229, in the form hinc et illinc, a superfluous epexege-
sis on uterque. Both adverbs here retain their normal
force, hinc meaning "on our side," illinc "on the
enemy's side," whereas in Most. 565 et hinc et illinc
means "on both sides" (indefinite).

a) Hinc....illinc with asyndeton and not juxta-
posed: Lucr. 2,521 hinc flammis, illinc .... pruinis;
Virgil, Geor. 1,509; Petron. 83; 108; Curtius 6,11,16

hinc ignis illinc uerbera....ingerebantur (*sc*. Philotae);
cf. 8,14,32 and Juvenal 10,44 illinc cornicines, hinc
....agminis officia (observe the order).

b) With asyndeton and juxtaposed: Catullus
68a,133(= 68b,93) hinc illinc (circumcursans); Lucre-
tius (of an indefinite antecedent); Ovid, Met. 1,619 f.
illinc | Hinc (chiastic sentence); Seneca, Medea 108
h. i. mittite carmina.

c) With copula:

> Hinc rex *et* illinc Sen. Medea 516.
> Hinc illinc*que* || illinc *cod*. A || Cic. Tim. 49.
> Hinc *atque* illinc: Liv. 3,5,1 (impetus facti);
26,39,19 (transferentes uela); 32,10,12 (uulneribus
acceptis); Petron. 48 (secuit); 32 (fimbriis h. a. i. pen-
dentibus).

> Hinc *uel* illinc: Tac. Annal. 2,6,7 adpelle-
rent naues); Hist. 3,47,19 (adpellere naues); Germ.
44,11 (mutabile h. u. i. remigio).

> Hinc *aut* illinc: Liv. 7,8,1 (aufert); 9,32,6
(telum h. a. i. emissum).

d) With correlating adverbs or conjunctions:
> *Nunc* hinc *nunc* illinc: Lucr. 2,214 f. (nubibus
ignes | concursant); 6,199 (fremitus—"thunder"—
per nubila mittunt); Virg. Aen. 4,442 (n. h. n. flati-
bus illinc | ....certant) with the interlocked order.

> *Atque* hinc *atque* illinc umeros ad uolnera
durat Virg. Geor. 3,257.

3 *Huc—illuc*. The two adverbs bear their full
original demonstrative force in Plaut. Capt. 370

> Ad te atque ad illum: pro rota me uti licet.
> Uel ego huc uel illuc uortar quo imperabitis.

With the weakened force it occurs Aul. 607

> Hinc ego et huc et illuc potero quid agant arbi-
>   trarier.

The formulae in which it occurs are of about the same range with those of the two adverbial correlations just discussed, and may be grouped under the same general heads:

a) Asyndeton—not juxtaposed:

b) Asyndeton—juxtaposed: Cic. Ad Att. 9,9,2*e* cursem huc illuc uia teterrima; Sall. Jug. 60,4 (agitare corpora); Ovid, Met. 2 (feror); Virg. Geor. 2,297 (aesculus sustinet umbram); Aen. 4,363 (uoluens oculos); 5,408 (uersat); Manil. 1,199 (reflectat); Petron. 114 (uentus conuertebat ratem); Ilias Lat. 393 (coruscat); Lucan 8,699 (truncus iactatur aquis); Stat. Achil. 200 (uolutat); Siluae 1,3,72 (prosternat); Theb. 2,602 (clipeum obiectans); 4,366 (uersans lumina); 733 (impellat); 9,172 (frustra ruit auius); Sil. Ital. 17,137 (iactans—*sc.* equus membra); Plin. Epist. 2,17,9 (digeret); Quint. 10,7,6 (salientes).

c) With copula:

Huc *et* illuc: Ad Herenn. 4,11*p* (fluctuat); Cic. Cael. 13 (torquere et flectere suum ingenium); De Nat. Deor. 2,115 (casu et temere cursantibus); 101 (aer effluens uentos efficit); De Off. 1,101 (rapit); Acad. 2,116 (trahuntur rationes); De Div. 2,80 (uolucris passim uagantes); De Nat. Deor. 3,68 (uersat); De Fin 2,99 (uersetis); Hor. 4,11,9 (cursitant); Celsus 2,15,8 (lectus manu impellendus); 8,1,35 (se inclinans); Sen. De Ben. 5,5*m* (hoc et illo—*sic!*—diducit); Med. 862 (h. fert pedes et illuc); Stat. Theb. 4,380 (h. tristis et

illuc....pinum deiectat); 9,849 (h. fessus et i. | Mutabat turmas); 10,168 (acies h. errat et i.).

Huc *atque* illuc. Cic. Quint. Rosc. 37 (tergiuersantem); De Oratore 1,40 (intuens); 184 (uagare); De Fin. 5,86 (uerses); Bell. Afr. 73 (rapsaret); Sall. Hist. 3,48,26 (M) (huc ire a. i.—order!); Livy 7,34,16 (signa moueri); 5,8,8 (signa transferrent); Valer. Max. 6,8,7 (errantia); Petron. 37 (discurreret); 101 (uectatur); Celsus 4,1,29 (ab utraque parte h. a. i. uolutum intestinum colon); Stat. Theb. 2,545 (h. ferus a. i. animum....ferens); Gellius 2,6,5 (distrahitur—of the human mind); Dictys 3,3 (oberrans); Script. Hist. Aug. Maximini 5,1 (discurrens, "the whole world over"); Jordanes, Get. 182.

Huc illuc*que*: Celsus 5,26,14 (oculi mouentur). In Plin. N. H. 37,83 the phrase is not well authenticated.

Huc *uel* illuc: Ter. And. 266

> Dum in dubiost animus, paulo momento h. u. i.
>   inpellitur;

Huc illuc*ue*: Celsus 6,6,36 (moueatur); 7,3,8 (discernit); 7,18,14 (conuersum—*sc.* fuit); 8,16,8 (se dederunt).

d) With correlating words:

Et huc *et* illuc: Petron. 39 (quadrat).

Uel huc *uel* illuc impelluntur Celsus 7,7,3.

Nunc huc *nunc* illuc: Lucr. 2,131 (reuerti | N. h. n. i. in cunctas undique partis);

Virgil, Aen. 4,285 (n. h. celerem n. diuidit illuc); 5,701

> (N. h. ingentis n. i. pectore curas
> Mutabat uersans);

Manil. 2,904 (N. h. n. i. mutantis); 3,167 (mota); Sen. Med. 938

(N. h. ira n. i. amor | Diducit);

Sil. Ital. 4,323

N. h. alterno, n. i., flamine gestant (*sc.* uenti).

Tum huc *tum* illuc: Cic. De Div. 1,120 (uolant alites); *cf.* Lael. 13 *supra cit.*

Iam huc *iam* illuc: Florus 1,33(2,17)8 (missi duces).

Dum huc *dum* illuc: Plaut. Truc. 38 (rete or impedit) in its present condition is corrupt, if not interpolated.

Modo huc *modo* illuc: Catullus 3,9 (circumsiliens); 15,7 (praetereunt,—*sc.* in platea homines); Cic. De Div. 2,145 (ducentium); Par. 14 (transferuntur); Tim. 48 (verb lost—lacuna in text).

4) *Hac—illac*: Plaut. Rud. 213 hac an illac eam incerta (definite?); Ter. Haut. 512 Hac illac circumcursa (indefinite); Eun. 105

Plenus rimarum sum, hac atque illac perfluo; Petron. 57*e* (pedem opponerent); Tac. Agr. 28 hac atque illa rapti.

Multimembral adverbial series are very rare yet not entirely wanting. Stat. Silu. 1,6,67–74 hic.... hic....illic....illic....hic....; Sil. Ital. 10,312 f. hic .... hic .... illic ǁ illuc *codd.* LFOV ǁ .... hic .... passim....; 403 f. hic....hic....illic ǁ *v. l.* ibi ǁ....

It will be recalled that the earliest bimembral series cited above in which the pronouns are used indefinitely is found in Cicero, while the earliest passage in which the words mean "the former, the latter" is in Accius, Joseph Bach (*op. cit.* p. 309) being fully

justified in regarding with Brachmann Plaut. Bacch. 395 as spurious.   However, a trimembral series considerably antedating Accius occurs in Ennius, Fabulae 330 (M)

His erat in ore Bromius, his Bacchus pater, illis Lyaeus ("some—some—others").

Since the semasiological change undergone by hic and ille in passing from a definite to an indefinite antecedent is the same in the multimembral as in the bimembral series, there is no reason for assuming that the process was accomplished sooner in the one case than in the other, unless it be that the repetition of the same pronoun (made necessary in the multimembral sentence) refering to different antecedents in the same sentence (so his—his above) facilitated the change in meaning.   As a matter of fact, we find that in the bimembral correlations hic—hic and ille—ille, the first step toward this change is apparent in Plautus and Terence (see below).   On the other hand in the case of the hic—ille type it is only in the short adverbial expressions hic—illic, hinc—illinc, huc—illuc, *etc.*, that we find in these two comedians the process of the weakening of the meaning under discussion an accomplished fact.   That neither series (nonadverbial) appears in Plautus or Terence is due simply to the fact that these correlations are appropriate only to description and narration, which are rarely found in comedy.   In view of this we shall probably not be much in error, if we assume that the indefinite use of the bimembral series was also possible to Ennius, and only the scantiness of the extant remains of his works deprives us of examples.

As has already been suggested, the adverbial forms
appeared earlier in the literature and obtained much
greater currency than did the others. They may actu-
ally have developed earlier. Unlike the adjectival and
substantive forms, which stand for a material ante-
cedent the individuality of which is likely to be clearly
felt, they represent only more or less vague local or
temporal conceptions. In the great majority of in-
stances the locutions hinc—illinc, *etc.*, serve to point
out that certain acts take place in two different places,
it being unimportant whether one is near and one far
away. The important thought is that the two points
where the action takes place are separate and distant
from each other. The distinctive meaning of each
word is thus easily lost, and the meaning of the locu-
tion *as a whole* becomes the important thing. Further-
more those adjectival and substantive locutions that
give indication of having been modeled on the adver-
bial forms, *e. g.*, modo hoc modo illud, tum hoc tum
illud, hoc aut illo, his atque illis, hoc uel illud, hoc
aut illud, make up by far the larger number of in-
stances in which the correlation bears the indefinite
sense.

2. **Hic—hic.** The weakening of hic to an in-
definite pronoun is seen with equal clearness in this
correlation. There is, however, one important differ-
ence between the two locutions. In the case of hic—
ille the contrast is largely expressed by the difference
in the meaning of the words. In the present case the
contrast is not expressed by the words themselves,
they being identical in meaning, but either by gesture,
etc., or by the predicates affirmed of their antecedents.

Cicero's citation from Servius (Ad Fam. 9,16,4) hic
uersus Plauti non est, hic est has been made a locus
classicus by Wölfflin's discussion of it in his "Gemina-
tion im Lateinischen" (Münchener Sitzungsber. 1882).
He characterises it as an imitation of the Conversa-
tionsstil comparing Horace, Ars Poet. 439

> "Corrige, sodes,
> Hoc," aiebat, "et hoc."

(on which Lucian Müller, *ad loc.*, misunderstanding
the classical usage, says "für et illud"), and Sat.
1,1,112 hunc atque hunc (Müller, "für atque illum").
The usage is further exemplified by Ars Poet. 45 hoc
amet, hoc spernat, and two such pairs Ars Poet. 363
and 365

> Haec amat obscurum; uolet haec sub luce
>   uideri;
> Haec placuit semel, haec decies repetita placebit.

In Ad Fam. *l. c.* and similar passages there is really
no weakening in the force of the pronoun, since one
object after another is laid before the critic, and each
one, as it is examined, becomes "this verse" (*cf.* Plaut.
Capt. 1011 Pater hic est, hic seruos—see also 1018
Pater hic est. Hic fur est). Closely connected with
this last type is Virg. Ecl. 4,55–57

> Non me carminibus uincat nec Thracius Or-
>   pheus,
> Nec Linus, huic mater quamuis atque huic pater
>   adsit,
> Orphei Caliopea, Lino formonsus Apollo;

and Aen. 8,357

15

Hanc Ianus pater, hanc Saturnus condidit
    arcem:
Ianiculum huic, illi fuerat Saturnia nomen.

This passage exemplifies the close contact in meaning
between hic—hic and hic—ille.   Compare Tacitus,
Hist. 4,55,7 Tutor....Sabinus...., hic Treuir, hic
Lingonus, Tutor....Sab.....   The usage is rare in
late Latin, but is found in Script. Hist. Aug. Avid.
Cass. 2,8; Min. Fel. 40,4; Alcimus Avitus 5 (p. 33,2)
quidquid hic ‖ illic Mommsen ‖ nocuit, hic profecit;
quidquid tunc fleuimus, nunc amamus.

Very instructive for the interpretation of Ad Fam.
l. c. are Ter. Ad. 417 f.

Hoc facito....Hoc fugito.
Hoc laudist....Hoc uitio datur,

where, as in Ars Poet. 363 and 365, two pairs of
alternatives are found, and Ter. Ad. 425 f.

Hoc salsumst, hoc adustumst, hoc lautumst
    parum;
Illud recte.

where we likewise have two alternatives.   The second
is il. recte; the first is trimembral, the three alterna-
tives as a whole being contrasted with illud recte, and
being logically equivalent to haec praue.   This pas-
sage testifies to the existence of the usage at a time
long antedating Servius.   It is paralleled by the famil-
iar passage Hor. Sat. 1,4,134–7 rectius hoc est....hoc
....sic....hoc...., where sic is introduced *varie-
tatis causa*.

In the last two passages, in which the number of

alternatives exceeds two, the antecedents have already
lost their individuality, and, as in the case of hic—ille
discussed on p. 85, the stress lies entirely on the
contrast between the predicates that are assigned to
them.   The pronouns pass still further into the realm
of indefiniteness, when brought in such rapid suc-
cession before the mind that no time is allowed for the
mind to dwell upon each one.   In many passages even
the contrast between the predicates, which is often
very slight, is left unstated, and the reader or list-
ener is left to infer from the mere presence of a copula
et, aut, *etc.*,) or from the general context, that two
distinct antecedents are referred to.   Thus to be inter-
preted are: Ad Heren. 2,40 hoc aut hoc fecissem, and
Cic. De Invent. 1,99 hoc et hoc sit demonstratum; 100
uobis hoc et hoc plane factum est (cited by Krebs-
Schmalz, Antibarbarus I[6], 593); Quint. 6,1,4 cum
sciret haec et haec; *id.* 3 responsurus sit aduersarius
his et his.   [Hac et hac] in 9,4,129 is a gloss on fluit.
Cf. 4,4,8 ego hoc dico, aduersarius hoc, in which the
contrast is expressed by the two grammatical subjects.
In these passages, except possibly the last, it seems
unnecessary to assume that the speaker is thinking of
a definite object when he utters each "hoc", nor is he
on the other hand using them exactly as indefinites.
They seem rather to approach in meaning the familiar
legal formula illud—illud "such and such".   Further-
more there is no implication, except in 4,4,8 that only
two alternatives are referred to, so that we might
translate "for example, this or that."

Of the same type with Livy 2,51,9 cited p. 84, is
Virgil, Aen. 10,9 f

Quis metus aut hos

Aut hos arma sequi ferrumque lacessere suasit,

in which it is a matter of indifference which hos re-
fers to Rutuli and which to Troiani; Persius 5,155
Huncine an hunc sequeris? (*cf.* Sil. Ital. 4,353 f).

Lastly we may refer to the cases in which the
choice is not limited to two objects, the words coming
to mean "one—another", plural "some—others".
This usage is found chiefly in the hexameter poetry.
See Virgil, Aen. 6,773 f.

Hi tibi Nomentum et Gabios urbemque Fide-
nam,

Hi Collatinas imponent montibus arces;

cf. 7,506 ff.

Olli....adsunt, hic torre armatus obusto,

Stipitis hic grauidi nodis: quod cuique repertum

Rimanti, telum ira facit;

and 1,106 Hi....his....; Geor. 4,84 f. aut hos aut
hos; Hor. Epist. 1,17,39 ff. hic.... | .... | Hic....;
Lucan 2,30 hae....hae....; 252 f. Hos.... | Hos....;
3,687 | Hic .... | Hi ....; 6,198–200 | Hunc .... |
Hunc... ; 7,375 f. haec.... | Haec....; 8,196 | Hos
....hos....; 10,489 hos....hos....; Sil. Ital. is not
less fond of the correlation. For Statius see Thebais
2,246; 710 f.

The usage admits naturally of extension to three
or more members, as in Virgil, Geor. 2,505–8 hic....
hic....hunc....; Aen. 7,473 f. hunc....hunc....hunc
....; Hor. Epist. 2,2,67 hic....hic....hic....hic
....; Lucan 2,154–7 hic....hic....hic....; Stat. Sil.
4,4,15 f. hos....hos....hi....

From the prose writers: Florus 2,33(4,12),52 hos
....hos....hos.... In New Test. Matth. 13,22
ποιεῖ....ὁ μέν....ὁ δέ....ὁ δέ....is rendered in the
codex Bobbianus (now Taurinensis k) hoc....hoc au-
tem....hoc autem...., in all other existing MSS.
(the Palatinus e, an African translation, has a lacuna
at this point) aliud quidem....aliud autem....aliud
autem (or uero).... In the parallel passage 13,8
even k and e read aliut....aliut....aliut.... In
Matth. 8,9 the Vulgate huic....alio....represents
τούτῳ....ἄλλῳ....

Like hic....hic....ille....*etc.*, this series also
admits indefinite nouns and pronouns. Curtius 9,9,
12 hi....hi....quidam....; Stat. Theb. 3,129–31
hae....hae....pars....pars....; Lucan 10,128 ff. hos
....alios....pars....pars....inuentus....fortior
aetas. Tacitus has a variety of such expressions,
especially in the Annals, *e. g.*, 14,8,2 hi....hi....alii
....quidam....; 1,18,1 hi....hi....plurimi....; 2,
13,4 hic....alius....plurimi....; 4,50,2 his....aliis
....et erant qui....; 13,39,14 hos....alios....mul-
tos....; Hist. 3,55,9 his....alios....(*cf.* Ann. 6,1,9);
Sat. 1,4,27 ff. hic....hic....hunc....Albius....hic
....; Sil. Ital. 17,482–5 hic....hic....hos....horum
....ipse Rhoeteius; Juvenal 1,46–49 hic....hic....
Marius....

The corresponding adverbial forms hic—hic, *etc.*,
in the sense of alibi—alibi, ἔνθα μέν—ἔνθα δέ, like the
adverbial forms hic—illic, have a much wider range of
usage than the adjectival and substantive forms, but
are far less frequently employed than the hic—illic

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Aut hos arma sequi ferrumque lacessere suasit,

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adverbial forms hic—illic, have a much wider range of
usage than the adjectival and substantive forms, but
are far less frequently employed than the hic—illic

type, and seem to be a later development. At least they appear considerably later in the extant literature.

1) *Hic—hic, etc.*, is rarely met, hinc—hinc being used in its stead. Examples are Sil. Ital. 8,395 f; 3,547 f.

2) *Hinc—hic.* See Hor. O. 1,34,14–16.

3) *Hinc—hinc.* Type a), hinc hinc juxtaposed and used asyndetically, seems never to occur, except as refering to one and the same antecedent.

b) Asyndetic and not juxtaposed: The two adverbs may both modify the same verb or may be used with separate verbs. The correlation appears earlier in the former construction. The first examples in prose literature, as is well known, are found in Livy. Earlier than the first decade of Livy is Horace, Sat. 1,1,18 hinc uos uos hinc discedite, which, so far as I am aware, has always been interpreted in the general sense: "Go ye each his own different way." I am not inclined, however, to follow the traditional rendering, which takes hinc . . . . hinc in the sense of hinc . . . . illinc, or more exactly either hac—illac or illuc . . . . illuc, but would for several reasons make hinc in both instances refer to the speaker, Jupiter, and retain its normal meaning "hence, hence, both of you." Livy is therefore antedated in this usage not even by a poet. Livy uses the words in most cases to balance a pair of nouns that stand in the same construction. The passage 1,13,2 hinc patres hinc uiros orantes, is the earliest instance of the usage in Latin literature. This same passage stands in Aurel. Vict. 1,2,9 hinc patres inde coniuges deprecatae. Either

Victor or the maker of the Epitome Liuiana[1] felt hinc —hinc as an unusual expression and altered it to the more familiar and more prosaic hinc—inde. The same type of construction is found 3,23,7 h. Uolscos h. Aequos. 6,15,3; 8,35,8; 21,8,8; 22,47,2; 25,15,14; 25,29,3; 26,48,12; 28,9,13; 29,33,5; 30,19,8. In two cases we have instead of single substantives a phrase of two or more words correlated by hinc—hinc: 26, 37,2 hinc in Hispania aduersae res, hinc prospera in Sicilia; 10,39,16 hinc foederum cum Romanis ictorum testes deos, hinc iurisiurandi aduersus foedera suscepti execrationes horrens. Later examples of such an extended phrase are: Stat. Theb. 1,383 f; Sil. Ital. 10,530–2; 2,273–5. The brief expressions in which two substantives are correlated reappear in Curt. 9,4, 10 *bis*; 5,10,9; 5,4,28; 8,13,11 (in the second and third instances the substantive stands in the Ablative); Lucan 7,533; 9,861; Sen. Dial. 2,2,1 (two proper names); Stat. Sil. 1,2,235; Theb. 1,193 (two proper names, each with an adjectival modifier); 3,564 f; Sil. Ital. 1,522; 4,380 f; 550; 562; 5,44; 7,526; Juvenal 1, 119 hinc toga, calceus hinc est. Slightly varied are Sil. Ital. 1,561.

Hinc puer inualdique senes, hinc femina;

and 4,414

Hinc laeua frenos, hinc dextra corripit arma.

The phrase is very seldom employed to correlate

[1] Dr. Henry A. Sanders, whose special study of the Epitome enables him to speak with authority on the subject, has been unable to find any evidence either to prove or to disprove the assumption that the writer of the Epitome made the change. The balance of probability would perhaps assign it to Victor.

two verbs: Manil. 2,419 f; Lucan 10,537 f.; Stat. Sil. 2,2,116 f.; Sil. Ital. 1,222 f.; 2,273–275.

c) With copula:

Hinc *et* hinc, widely separated: Lucr. 6,88 f. hinc....et hinc; in juxtaposition: Hor. Epod. 2,31 (trudit); 5,97 (saxis petens); Petron. 79*v*; Stat. Sil. 4,3,47 (coactis).

Hinc *atque* hinc stands almost invariably at the beginning of a verse: Virg. Aen. 1,162 (rupes minantur); 4,447 (heros tunditur); 12,431 (suras incluserat); Germanicus, Arat. Phaen. 49 (torquet); Stat. Sil. 2,2,14 (perrumpunt); Theb. 7,479 (natae); 12,759 (natauit); Sil. Ital. 4,274 (dederunt); 1,375 (instent).

Hinc....*at* hinc (widely separated): Stat. Sil. 3,5,74 f.

Hinc....*atque* hinc (widely separated); Sil. Ital. 17,251.

It is easy to see how hinc—hinc took on its indefinite meaning. In the passage from Horace's Satires cited above, both groups of persons are bidden to depart from the speaker. Perhaps there is no notion in the speaker's mind of the direction which each person addressed is about to take. On the other hand it may be an essential part of the speaker's thought that they depart in different directions. In proportion as this second thought is more or less prominent, in just so marked a degree does the phrase take on the meaning "to one place—to an (the) other." As a rule, however, in the examples cited above, the word hinc has entirely lost its special implication of movement in a direction away from the speaker, and is already synonymous with an indefinite hic.

3) *Huc—huc.* The two words imply, of course, motion toward the speaker. This meaning offers a serious bar to the process of development just outlined, that takes place in the case of hinc—hinc. Nevertheless the phrase did take on an indefinite force, and although our earliest example (Catullus 61,34

Ut tenax edera huc et huc
Arborem implicat errans)

considerably antedates Livy's hinc—hinc, it is paralleled by Lucretius hinc et hinc (6,88 f.), which phrase may have exercised no weak influence toward hastening its development. Examples of the usage are very rare. I know of only six: Hor. Epod. 4,9

....ora uertat h. et h. euntium;

Sen. Med. 385 (recursat); Stat. Sil. 1,3,38 (huc oculis, huc mente trahor); Sil. Ital. 9,360 (it seges nutans); 614 (iactas).

4) *Hac—hac*, like huc—huc is a poetical usage, and very rarely met. Naevius, Astiologa; Propert. 1,3,14; Horace, Epist. 2,2,75; Virgil, Aen. 1,467 f.; Stat. Theb. 9,762. I know of only one instance in prose literature, Pompeius, Comment. in Donat. p. 105,31 (K).

Adverbial series of three members are found: Luc. 1,176–181 hinc....hinc....hinc....; Sil. Ital. 1,185–187 *do*; 5,198 *do*.

3. Ille—ille. As our discussion of the two correlations just dismissed has been rather full, we may treat the present one very briefly, the more so because it shows about the same range of meaning with the others and is of quite infrequent occurrence.

Parallel to the construction hic uersus Plauti non est, hic est is Terence, Phor. 332

> Quia enim in illis fructus est, in illis opera ludi-
> tur.

The same usage is found in Cicero, Rosc. Amer. 59 (cited in Mühlmann's Thesaurus) quaesisse, num ille aut ille defensurus esset; De Inuent. 1,98 [illud docuimus, illud plane fecimus]. Suetonius (Jul. 41) quotes from Julius Cæsar, commendo uobis illum et illum. Martial 7,10,1 f. offers ille uel ille; while Manilius 2,185

> Ille senescentis ueris, subeuntis et ille,

in which a definite antecedent is referred to, is paralleled by Quint. 2,8,11 in illo....in illo....; 3,6,93 ille....ille....; 11,3,168; Lucan 4,636 f.; ille (Antaeus).... | Ille (Heracles); *cf.* 612; Plin. Epist. 1,23, 3 uel ille cui adessem uel ille quem contra; *cf.* 6,29,15 Miseni illud ruisse....illud ardere; Juv. 10,91 illi.... | Illum....

The type represented by Virg. Aen. 10,9 (hic.... hic) is closely paralleled by Sil. Ital. 4,317 ff. Itali ....Tyrias....alas. | Aut illi.... | Aut illi.

With entirely indefinite series it occurs in Manil. 2,517-19

> Audire ut cupiant alios, aliosque uidere,
> Horum odio, nunc horum idem ducantur amore,
> Illis insidias tendant, captentur ab illis,

an important passage, as showing ille—ille entirely synonymous with hic—hic and alius—alius. Further examples are: Sen. Sent. 9,2,16 nemo paene sine uitio est: ille iracundus est, ille libidinosus; Petron.

123,226. In the light of these passages Wölfflin's proposal to read in Tac. Ger. 14,11 f. ille....ille instead of illam....illum can meet with no objections on the score of the meaning of the phrase ille....ille. Pompeius, Commentum in Donat. has on p. 204,7(K) et illa breuis est et illa; p. 205,16 et illud et illud.

Trimembral series occur in Petron. 115 and Juv. 2,93; 95-99. ─────────────

NOTE TO CHAPTER II.—The rivalry between hic, is and ille is also apparent in the usage of these words in legal formulae of the types:

a. Illa die, illa hora ab urbe sum exiturus (in imitation of the style of imperial edicts), Script. Hist. Aug. Alex. Sev. 45,2; *cf.* Arnob. 4,19*p* cum legitis ex illo patre atque ex illa matre deus ille est proditus.

b. Eam alitem, ea regione caeli et eius dei nuntiam uenisse, Livy 1,34,9.

c. Ex hac familia in hanc familiam.

The writer finds it necessary to postpone the discussion of these usages to a later date, when he shall have a fuller collection of data at his disposal. They are, of course, intimately connected with the formulae hic—hic and ille—ille just discussed.

Another correlation hinc—inde should not be overlooked in this connection. The writer hopes in the near future to publish a history of this phrase and throw new light upon the development of the other correlations discussed in this section, both by comparing them with hinc—inde and by continuing the study of their development down to the seventh century.

CHAPTER III. ISTE.

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The weakening in the meaning of hic, necessarily brought about by its frequent use as a substitute for is, resulted in an effort, unconscious of course, on the part of the users of the language, to find another word to take its place.   Ille, with its strong demonstrative force, was too remote in meaning from hic to serve this purpose.   So recourse was had to iste. Since this last pronoun was very extensively used as a substitute for hic (which it eventually almost entirely displaced), it may very properly be discussed immediately after hic.   The usage iste = hic forms the main subject of the remarks of the present chapter, at the conclusion of which, however, it will be necessary to call attention to two other peculiarities in the usage of the word.

While no general agreement has been reached as to the etymology of this pronoun, there can be no doubt that there is much fuller consensus of opinion on the point than existed a few years ago.   In 1870 Johann Kvičala in his Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der Pronomina, (= Sitzungsber. d. Wien. Akad. 1870, p. 137), induced by the extensive use of the word as a δευτερότριτον, urged the identity of the -te in iste with the ablative of the personal pronoun tu. He seems to have found no supporters to his view, although Netušil in Archiv f. lat. Lexikogr. u.

Gramm. VII, 579 ff. argues for ti, dative. It is not necessary, as von Planta following Danielsson has pointed out (Grammatik der oskisch-umbrischen Dialecte II, 423), to assume this etymology, in order to explain the peculiar character of iste. Spanish esso (from ipse) is used as a δευτερότριτον implying contempt. (*Cf.* also pp. 156 ff. below.) No more satisfactory is the proposal cited in the third edition of Neue's Formenlehre, II,396, from Stolz, Lateinische Grammatik, p. 216, that the second element of iste is the suffix -pte. In the second and third editions of his grammar Stolz returns to the view concerning the last element of the pronoun advanced by Corssen, who (Ueber Aussprache, Vocalismus und Betonung der lateinishen Sprache II, 843, 2d edition) writes: "Das dem. Pron. -tu-s, -ta-, -tu-d, von dem selbständig die Accusative-formen tum, tam mit adverbialer Bedeutung erhalten sind, ist enklitisch an die Nominative Form i-s des Pronominal-stammes i- gefügt in i-s-tu-s, iste." This element, according to Danielsson, Pauli's Altitalische Studien, III,158 ff., represents in the Nom. sg., masc. and fem. an original -so-, -sa- (*cf.* Brugmann's Grundriss, I,426, Anm. 2—this note does not appear in the second edition). The first two letters of iste are resolved by Schweizer-Sidler, Gram. der lat. Sprache I,122, 2d ed., into i-, pronominal root and so-, sa-, pronominal stem, and the final syllable, is explained as representing original -se, -so "nach dem Neutrum und den übrigen Casus ins Masc. und Fem. des Nom. sg. eingedrungen." This last derivation, which connotes a later origin for iste, is the most satisfactory from a semasiological standpoint; and best accounts for the

strong demonstrative force of iste, that has enabled it to maintain until today (*cf.* Spanish este) its distinct deictic character.

It may now be regarded as beyond dispute that one of the most important elements of the meaning of iste, in the ante-Augustan periods at least, is its distinct reference to the second person, *i. e.*, to something having a direct connection with the person addressed, or (which for our present purposes is practically the same thing) conceived by the subject to have such a relation. Joseph Bach, whose examination of the usage of the demonstrative pronouns in the archaic period is very thorough, maintains that the word occurs in no passage in this period without bearing a distinct reference to the second person. It is further claimed that in Cicero the word always has this force. On this point see Landgraf's note 366c on Reisig's Vorlesungen über die Lateinische Sprachwissenschaft III,97 f., where Kvičala, *op. cit.*—particularly p. 133 —is cited with approval.

One of the most palpable bits of evidence that seems to prove the correctness of this view, is the attitude of the Roman historians toward the pronoun. In Cæsar, for example, the word occurs only once (B. G. 7,77), and then in an oration inserted in his narrative. Similarly it occurs only in direct address in Sallust, since in Frag. Hist. 1,49 (Maurenbr.) the words uacuam istam urbem seem to be a portion of the address of a Samnite to his fellows. The same is true of Nepos, Curtius and Livy (at least in books 1–40). In the Bellum Hisp. 9,1, ista is a conjecture for the traditional ita, and has been changed to illa in

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the best modern editions. In contrast with the historians, we find that Cicero in his orations, letters and dialogues and Varro in his dialogue on Agriculture make very extensive use of iste. This goes to show that the writers of historical narrative had little occasion to employ the word. That the same is true of ordinary exposition, is clearly proved by the use of iste in the Rhetorica ad Herennium. In this anonymous treatise iste occurs upward of ninety times. Of these instances only four fall to the first three books, while the other eighty odd are found in the fourth book. The explanation is simple. The fourth book, which treats of ἐλοcutio, is largely made up of illustrations of various figures of rhetoric, and these examples, with few exceptions, are drawn from orations or are imitations of the oratorical style. We must not forget that at the beginning of the fourth book the Auctor ad Herennium lays great stress on the fact that he employs his own illustrations and not those cited by others, counting, apparently, as his own those which he translated from the Greek (*cf.* 4,7,10, where he especially takes credit for translating the Greek technical expressions used in rhetoric). In this connection I cannot refrain from making the suggestion, that the Roman teachers of rhetoric are to some extent, and perhaps largely, responsible for the very extensive use made of this word by the orators. Any one who reads attentively the large number of made-up examples of figures of rhetoric in the Auctor, can scarcely fail to be convinced of this. Iste becomes inseparable from them and recurs with a mechanical monotony. Compare also the frequent repetition of

iste in the first ten chapters of book 4 of this work, where it refers in each instance with disparaging force, to those whose views are combatted by the Auctor.

In view of these facts, and of the pedagogical convenience of the ordinary rule of grammar which makes hic, iste and ille correspond to the first, second and third persons respectively of the verb, it is not surprising to find the statement repeated in all our school grammars. It remains on the whole true, but I shall propose below, page 158, an important modification of the rule, and shall call attention to the necessity of discriminating between the use of the word in direct address on the one hand, and its use as a δευτρό-τριτον on the other. Still, notwithstanding the truth of the general statement in so far as it refers to the "Golden," or, at least, to the Ciceronian Latinity, but it is misleading, and in fact censurable to imply by one's silence that the usage of the so-called Silver Latin is identical with that of the Ciceronian period. Schmalz forms the only exception to the general practice and his modifications of the rule,—depending as he was obliged to do on second-hand information,— are far from exact. The only and the earliest example of iste=hic cited by the erudite Kühner in his Grammatik der Latein. Sprache II[2], 454, is from St. Augustine!—a striking commentary on the state of the historical grammar of the Latin language in 1878. An examination of the whole subject is therefore necessary, the more so, since an appreciation of the later meanings of this word is essential to a proper understanding of the works of several of the "Silver" writers, especially Celsus, Seneca the Younger and

the poets.   In the following discussion of the subject, the evidence for the meanings of iste is adduced in several distinct groups, within which the citations are arranged so far as possible in chronological order.

A. ISTE = HIC.

The earliest evidence of a weakening of the force of iste as a δευτερότριτον is found in the collocation iste tuus, ista tua (*cf.* Koziol, Stil des Apuleius p. 78), iste uester, *etc.*, which occurs as early as Plautus.   In Amphitruo 285 Mercury says to Sosia

> Ego pol te istis tuis pro dictis et male factis,
>   furcifer,
> Accipiam.

Thirty-one similar instances are mentioned by Bach, *op. cit.* pp. 216 ff.   The usage once established, we find it in Accius' Telephus 8; in Varro, Res Rust. 3,2,5; in Cicero (in the orations iste tuus twenty-seven times, iste uester seven times; in the philosophical writings iste tuus nine times, iste uester nine times; see Merguet's Lexicon), in Catullus 71,3; 81,3; 116,7; in Livy 4,4,7 nobilitatem istam uestram; in M. Aurel. (*apud* Fronto, Epist. 1,3) Frontonem istum tuum and in the Christian writers Firmicus Maternus 21,2 deus iste uester; Cyprian, Epist. 31,1*m* ista tua caritate; Arnobius 2,51*e*; Planciades Fulgentius, Mitol. 1, pr. 22(M) (= p. 12,14 H) ne tu istam tuam satyram.... credas; Gord. Fulgentius 8(= p. 156,14 H) quae sunt ista tua, Deus, secreta misteria.

At a later period the Romans found it necessary to juxtapose the form tibi to the word iste, in some instances at least, in order to secure a more distinct reference to the second person.   Such, at least, is the

explanation of the Italian codesto (= ecc[um] + tibi > ti + istu[m]).

As long as iste was used for emphatic reference to the second person, its usual usage would naturally be confined to cases of direct address, to conversation, for example, to orations and letters, or in general to passages written when the interest of the author was fixed upon the person addressed, or at least when the latter occupied a position in the author's consciousness: The appearance of the word in other connections than these must be taken as an indication that there is absent from the consciousness of the user any such element in the idea group that is associated with the phonetic symbol iste; in other words, that iste is no longer a δευτερότριτον.

There is possibly such an instance in Catullus 41,3

> Ameana puella....
> Tota milia me decem poposcit,
> Ista turpiculo puella naso.

There seems to be no reference to the second person in this passage, for, although in line five the poet addresses the friends of the young lady, he turns abruptly to them and apparently has no thought of them in the first four lines.   If there is no reference to the friends, we should then have to assume that it is the reader to whom he appeals.   If this is the case, the usage would illustrate the argument set forth on p. 156 below.   Horace in Sat. 1,4,130 ff. uses istinc in the sense of a meis uitiis.   The passage runs

> ....mediocribus et quis
> Ignoscas uitiis teneor; fortassis et istinc
> Largiter abstulerit longa aetas, liber amicus.

We may not, however, in this passage regard the word as used with the absence of all reference to the second person, since the phrase quis ignoscas containing the indefinite second person may be taken as an indication that Horace feels himself in close touch with his reader.   There is in Virgil only one passage in which the word occurs outside of direct address, namely, 10, 504.

> Turno tempus erit, magno cum optauerit emp-
> tum
> Intactum Pallanta et cum spolia ista diemque
> Oderit.

The passage is a comment of the poet himself on the ruthless slaughter of Pallas (*cf.* verse 502 nescia mens hominum....seruare modum).   The dark prophecy gives coloring to the entire sentence, and while the main cause for it is the death of Pallas, yet the taking of the balteus, referred to by the words spolia ista, is inseparable from the whole, and in my opinion ista decidedly heightens the effect that the poet, rising to a lofty dignity of tone characteristic of the orator, is desirous of producing.   This may be regarded as an almost certain case of the use of the word outside of direct address, since little weight can be attached to the reading $_{\mathrm{IPSA}}^{\mathrm{T}}$ of the Mediceus.   There is likewise but a single passage in Manilius in which iste is used in this way, namely, 1,492–4.

> Quis credat tantas operum sine numine moles
> Ex minimis caecoque creatum foedere mundum?
> Si fors ista dedit nobis, fors ipsa gubernet.

As the indefinite second person excuses the use of the word in Horace, so may the rhetorical question and

the subjunctive gubernet justify its use here.   These are the only passages of this kind that I have found in the poets up to the time of Tiberius (I have omitted to examine some of Ovid's writings, *e. g.*, Ars Amatoria, Medicamina Faciei, Halieutica).

Velleius Paterculus 2,7,3 cannot be made use of, since istius is here a conjecture of Cludius for Amerbach's ipsius.   Illius would be more in accordance with the classical usage.   As iste occurs no where else in Velleius, I prefer not to accept the reading.   This being the case, the earliest prose writer to employ the word outside of direct address is Valerius Maximus, who offers no less than ten instances: 4,3*pr.* (in a passage expressing contempt); 4,3,6 (contempt); 2,8,7 (regret); 7,1,2 (censure); 7,8,6 (falsehood); 8,1,3 (undesirability); 9,14*pr.* (disapproval); 5,1,11 (praise); 6,4*Ext.* 1 (praise); 2,2,8 (high praise).   There are in addition four passages in Velleius in which the use of iste may be regarded as justified by its occurrence in rhetorical questions.   They are 5,3,2*b*; 5,6*pr.*; 5,6*Ext.* 4; 9,1,5.   Celsus has followed in the foot-prints of Velleius, but has gone farther.   Particularly striking is 8,12 (= p. 354,16 Dar.) reposito osse, si cum dolore oculorum et ceruicis iste casus incidit, ex brachio sanguis mittendus est.   *Cf.* also 1,pr. (pp. 2,1; 3,1; 5,23; 6,6; 12; 9,29; 11,16; 17; 20 isti....ipsi).   Instances of this usage from Seneca the Younger are cited by Hoppe, Program, Lauban, p. 8, with the words: "Hervorzuheben ist bei Seneca der häufige Gebrauch von iste, ohne dass dessen besondere Bedeutung bewahrt wird."   Pliny the Elder does not differ essentially from his predecessor in polyhistory, as may be seen by

reference to the following passages: *Praef.* 28; 2,85; 139; 141; 7,132; 9,129; 10,137; 13,23; 125; 14,9; 91; 115 || ita *cod* d ||; 27,8; 28,6; 8; 229; 29,11; 24; 30, 10; 13; and is followed by Martial (1,84,3), Quintilian (see: 9,4,32; 2,40; 10,3,24), Tacitus (Agr. 40,10; Ann. 16,16,7—the only instances in Tacitus) and Florus (2,13(4,2),13).

We may now proceed to establish its usage as a πρωτότριτον, *i. e.*, as a synonym of hic, and then discuss the chronological and geographical limits of the usage and consider the semasiological character of the changes in meaning involved.

There are at least ten further lines of evidence, that make the existence of an iste πρωτότριτον certain.

In the first place we find as early as Catullus (see Schmalz on Reisig's Vorlesungen III, Anm. 366 bb) some pronoun of the first person (usually a possessive) modifying the same word with iste. Examples are:

Catullus 17,21

     Talis iste meus stupor ni*l* uidet, nihil audit,
     Ipse, qui sit...., nescit;

Virg. Aen. 11,165

     Nec uos arguerim, Teucri, nec foedera nec quas
     Iunximus hospitio dextras: sors ista (*i. e.*, the
         death of Pallas) senectae
     Debita erat nostrae.

Euander is here speaking, and addresses the Trojans. This practice is quite common in the correspondence of Fronto and in Apuleius. From the former may be cited: 1,2 ista mea fortuna .... istam necessitatem meam....ista mea uerecundia (the words of Marcus

Aurelius); 1,7 orationem istam meam (in a letter of Fronto himself). Apuleius offers us: Met. 1,11 sermones istos nostros; 2,3 meis istis manibus; 6,22 (cited by Goelzer, Gramm. in Sulp. Sev. Quaest. p. 90, Anm. 1) istud pectus meum. In a letter of the emperor Aurelian to Probus, *apud* Script. Hist. August. Prob. 6,6, the soldiery spoken of as decimani mei are shortly afterwards referred to by isti. Further examples are: Cyprian, De Oper. et Eleem. 20*e* in istis muneribus meis; and Sulp. Sev. D. 176,3 regio ista nostrorum. This usage is rare during the pre-Augustan period and is there confined to the poets.

There are other cases in which the reference of this pronoun to the first person is equally clear, although no possessive pronoun is added to it. It often refers to something in the vicinity or even in the possession of the writer or the speaker, or to something in which the speaker has a special interest. This application of the word is found in Seneca the Younger, Lucan, Pliny the Elder and his nephew, Juvenal and Fronto, not to mention the later writers. The elder Pliny in his dedication to Vespasian (sec. 18) refers to his work by the neuter plural substantive ista. His nephew in a letter to Caninius from the author's country home (2,8,1) writes, studia altissimus iste successus adfatim suggerunt, where iste sucessus means "this, my retired villa." Rauschning, De Latinitate L. Ann. Sen. Phil. p. 70, cites instances of this usage from Seneca. Juvenal 4,67 writes iste dies "today" for hic dies or hodie, and 6,295 (perhaps in order to avoid confusion with hinc immediately preceding and following) istos colles = the seven hills of Rome, *i. e.*, "our seven hills",

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in 9,131 called his collibus. In 14,179, where we read

> "Uiuite contentis casulis et collibus istis,
> O pueri!" Marsus dicebat....senex,

istis is of course capable of being interpreted in its normal sense. In the correspondence between Marcus Aurelius and Fronto this usage becomes quite common. Fronto writes p. 183 (N) dum istius doloris expers uitam degerem, meaning the pain which he himself suffers in his sickness. In the letter De Nepote Amisso (p. 236 e) he writes casibus miserrimis adflictus sum.... Plura scribere non possem isto in tempore. Probably no writer of the second century went so far in this particular as did Apuleius. Especially clear are Met. 1,18 iugulum istum dolui, "my neck ached"; 2,14 frater meus sub istis oculis miser iugulatus est, "before my eyes". An interesting parallel is afforded by Met. 2,5 omnem istam lucem mundi and Plautus' lucescit iam hoc.

It is here desirable to cite a passage from Obermeier, *op. cit.* p. 15, since it stands in need of some little correction. "Iste hat bei Lucan die übrigen Demonstrativa geradezu verdrängt. Denn es steht sogar regelmässig statt hic bei Verhältnissen, welche die redende Person betreffen; z. B., 3,126....mit ista potestas bezeichnet der Volkstribun Metellus die eigene Würde, 5,287

> Nil actum est bellis, si nondum comperit istas
> Omnia posse manus

die Aufrührer meinen die eigenen Hände, 5,588

> ....proderit undis | Ista ratis,

der Kahn, auf dem sich der also sprechende Cæsar befindet, 6,242....gladio....isto der Cæsarianer weist auf sein eigenes Schwert, 8,122.... 6,158...328 bello....in isto, d. i. in dem gegenwärtigen Kriege, und so findet sich eine Menge Beispiele. Da noch Vergil iste nur in Beziehung auf die 2te Person gebraucht (Reisig, Vorlesungen, S. 361)," (Should read 'Haase zu Reisig'. Landgraf also seems not to know of the passage Aen. X, 504 cited above), "in der Prose aber dieser Gebrauch von iste statt hic nicht vor dem Philosophen Seneca erscheint" (See on the contrary the passages quoted below from Celsus, Valerius Maximus and C. I. L., I, 1st ed. No. 818), "so muss Lucan einer der ersten gewesen sein, welche iste statt hic anwendeten." Further, p. 18 "Mit iste—ille bedient er sich des Ausdruckes einer viel späteren Zeit." To this last statement Weymann in Archiv III, 575 enters no objection. The expression is as old as Valerius Maximus (see below). Touching the first two sentences of Obermeier's statement it may be remarked that iste is not so common in Lucan as it is in Virgil, and is far less frequent than hic. Concerning the fact that iste stands only four times in Lucan outside of direct address see below.

The later pagan writers do not make such extensive use of iste as do Apuleius, Fronto and Gellius, who is discussed below. Instances, however, of the use of iste as πρωτότριτον are not uncommon. We may cite as illustrations the anonymous Declamatio in Catilinam 86, where cursum istum uiolentae orationis means "the rushing course of my eloquence"; Balbus Gromaticus p. 91,10 iste liber, "my book"; p. 94,5

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mensura ista....de qua loquimur.   In a letter of Probus *apud* Script. Hist. Aug. Probus 16,5 ab istis locis means "from Isauria, where I am"—this passage could in Cicero mean nothing but "from the place where you are"—; Script. Hist. Aug. Firmus 1,2 istam descriptionem, "a narration like mine"; Tacitus 13,4 (isto = Tacito); Macrobius, Sat. 1,7,19 regionem istam—"this land", *i. e.*, where we live—quae nunc uocatur Italia, regno Faunus obtinuit.   Similarly in Sat. 5,13,3 and 6 iste refers to the Roman poet Virgil, Macrobius' countryman, and may be translated "our poet", while in the second paragraph preceding, Homer is referred to by ille, and a few pages before, the two are contrasted by the words hunc—illum.   The so-called Gronovian scholiast on Cicero's oration for Roscius Amer. 17 uses usque ad istam narrationis partem in the sense "up to the present point in my address."

The patristic literature, like Fronto and Apuleius, makes rather more extensive use of the word in this meaning:

Min. Felix 18,11 iste sermo, "this expression";
    19,15 ista quae nostra sunt, "our persuasion";
    40,1 dum istaec igitur apud me tacitus euoluo;

Cyprian, De Hab. Virg. 15 *p* isto in loco, "at this point in my address";

Tertullian, De Idol. 19 *p* in isto capitulo, "in this chapter";

Commodian 1,25,19 isto libello, "my book";

Ambrose 1,8,32 F nobis excursus iste processit, ut probaremus....;

Sulpicius Severus, Chron. 1,2,1 uoluminis istius, "my volumen";

M. 25,3 ista (= mea) laudatio;
    27,6 opusculum istud (= meum);
    D. 1,18,2; 2(3),16; E. 2,8 *et saep. al.*   In this connection consult Lönnergren, De Syntaxi S. S. p. 10: "pronomen quod est iste celeberrime adhibet, ut ad agentem personam referatur, quod genus loquendi apud infimae aetatis scriptores uiguisse constat."

S. Silv. Peregrinatio p. 87,27 hic omnes conuenire in isto loco; 85,29 hodie nocte ista;

Cassian. Inst. 5,1 quintus nobis iste liber producitur;

Hilarian in his Tractatus in Psalmos often refers to the particular psalm under discussion by the pronoun iste, *e. g.*, 2,2 *m*.   On the other hand in Int. Psalm. 10 he writes hic psalmus.

To these citations we may add those having the adverbial forms istic and istinc.   The earliest instance, to omit Horace, *l. c.*, is Juvenal 3,29, where istic means "here in Rome".   He is followed by Marcus Aurelius, Ad Frontonem p. 34*m*(N) istic noctibus studeo; Fronto p. 212(N) in orationibus....sedulo curamus....sed contra istic (*i. e.*, in the branch of literature with which I am now occupied); Apuleius, Met. 2,20 Immo uero istic ("in this city") nec uirtutibus ullis parcitur.   Instances from Cyprian may be found by consulting Hartel's index.   From the conservative juristic Latin, Heumann, in his Handlexicon *s. v.* iste cites istic from Dig. 29,2,71,9 (a quotation from Ulpian).

Aside from this group of instances, there exists a large number of passages, in which iste appears in connections normally reserved for hic.   Valerius Maxi-

mus, for example, in passing from one group of anec-
dotes to another regularly refers to those just related
by the plural haec, and to those which follow by the
form illa.   This usage occurs, for example, in books
five and six, and is exactly paralleled by Cic. Ad Fam.
12,2,2.   In two instances, however, he departs from
his usual custom and writes ista instead of haec.   In
3,8,2 we read ista (*i. e.*, the anecdotes just related)
quidem seueritatis, illa (the following) uero pietatis
constantia admirabilis; in 5,4,3 auribus ista tam prae-
clara exempla Romana ciuitas accepit, illa uidit oculis.
Lucifer Caralitanus writes interchangeably in De Reg.
Apost. 2,3–5 hunc Hieroboam (p. 43,26), istius....
Hieroboae (p. 44,3), ...istum H. (44,18), ...isti H.
(45,25).   In the B class of the Scholia Terentiana
published by Schlee we find frequently recurring ista
secum loquitur and haec secum loquitur.   Jordanes,
in Romana 23 reads sub istius regni tempore, although
more often he writes huius regis tempore (so 18).   Com-
pare also 26 hoc regnante with 46 sub isto rege.

The frequently recurring phrase οὗτος ὁ κόσμος has
its counterpart (chiefly, of course, in the patristic
literature) in iste mundus.   Although hic mundus was
the classical and usual form, yet even in Manilius
(cited above) we find the neuter plural ista used as a
synonym of it.   Iste mundus occurs first in Cyprian,
Ad Dem. 19 *c* in isto adhuc mundo et hac carne con-
stituti, with which we may compare, 25 in isto adhuc
mundo.   Other examples are:

Ambrosius, Ex. 1,4,14 F. Pharao principem istius
mundi....(A) omnium nationum primum est Amaleck
....   Uide ne principem huius mundi accipere debea-

mus; *cf.* 1,8,31E in iudicio istius mundi || istis (mundi
om. N) || ;

> Paulinus Nolan. Epist. 5,7(p. 29,29) istum mun-
> dum;
> Filastrius, Heres. Liber 31,(3)2, *etc.*;
> Hilarius Pictav. Tractatus in Psalm. 118, *Lamed*,
> 8 mundi istius;
> Cassianus, Institutes 4,14 istius mundi. "saepis-
> sime hic mundus", Petschenig in indice.

Further examples may easily be found by consulting
the indices to the various volumes of the Vienna Cor-
pus Script. Eccl. Roman.   From the pagan literature
we may cite Censorinus, De Die Natali 4,4 sempiterno
isto mundo.   Similar to this phrase are:

Min. Fel. 11,1 moles ista, "this heaven we behold";
> 34,5 ista moles = hic mundus;
Commodian 1,3,1 f.

> Cum Deus omnipotens exornasset mundi na-
> turam
> Uisitare uoluit terram ab angelis istam;

Min. Fel. 21,11 ista generatio;
Commodian 1,26,25 istius saeculi;
Augustine, Epist. 25,3 *e* uitae istius;
Cyprian, De Mortal. 8 mortalitas ista communis;
> 8 istic in hoc mundo;
> 19 istinc de hoc mundo;

In these passages no distinction between iste and
hic based on the presence of any idea of depreciation
or contempt in the former can be established.   Indeed
iste is not infrequently found referring to the Savior
himself.   See the ancient Latin version of the inter-

polated epistle of Ignatius to the Philippians 5. No
objection can therefore be raised on this ground to
Plasberg's interpretation of me isto nomine ditans in
Anth. Lat. 664 (Riese), "the name of Christian" (*cf.*
Rhein. Mus. 54,149); nor to Thomas' "nomen Christi"
or "discipuli tui" (*op. cit.* p. 316).

Sentences of the type of Nepos, Them. 1,1 Themi-
stocles, Neocli filius, Atheniensis. huius.... (*cf.* Alcib.
1,1; Chab. 1,1 Chabrias Atheniensis. hic quoque in
....; Sallust, Bell. Cat. 5,1 Catulina, nobili genere
natus, fuit magna ui et animi et corporis, sed ingenio
malo prauoque. huic ab adulescentia ....; Nepos,
Epam. 4,1; Eum. 12,3; 4) occur as early as the epi-
taphs of the Scipios (see C. I. L. Vol. I, Nos. 31 f.

L · CORNELIO · L · F · SCIPIO
AIDILES · COSOL · CESOR
HONC OINO · PLOIRVME · COSENTIONT R(*omae*) . . ;

cf. C. I. L., I,1011. 1012. Wilm. 573) and continued to
be a favorite of the writers of history and biography
(see Sallust, *op. cit.* 6,1; 18,4; 23,1–2; 25,1; 2; Bell.
Iug. 35,2; and 65,1–3; Vell. Pat. 2,41,1; *cf.* 1,2,2
and Fritsch, Der Sprachgebrauch des Velleius, Arn-
stadt, 1876, p. 18; Valer. Max. 1,8 Ext.,8, *etc.*; Florus
1,1(3),1; (5),2; (7),2; 1,4(10),2; 1,25(2,9),2; 28(2,12),3;
2,2(14),2; 10(22),6(hi); Sueton. Rhet. 2; Gram. 18;
Trebellius Pollio, *saepe*; De Uiris Illustr. 32,3; Victor,
Hist. Abbr. 15,1; 18,1; 31,1). For our present pur-
poses it is a matter of comparative indifference whether,
as has been suggested by an eminent German Latinist,
this usage developed under the influence of the style
of the *Laudationes Funebres*, in which hic would natur-

ally and normally be used to refer to the person of the
deceased over whom the discourse was pronounced, or
whether it is to be regarded simply as the use, in a
special type of context, of this pronoun to refer to an
antecedent not actually present, but present only in
the thought or imagination (*cf.* Priscian III, pp. 142 f.
(K) hic....etiam de absente possumus dicere, ad intel-
lectum referentes demonstrationem). Ὅυτος was used
in precisely the same way by the Greeks, in the *shorter*
biographical notices of prominent writers (it seems not
to occur in Plutarch's Βίοι Παράλληλοι), *e. g.*, in the
Βίος Σοφοκλέους printed with Dindorf's Scholia, and in
Suidas' Lexicon, *s. vv.* Θοῦλις and Θωρυκίων *et al.* The
thorough establishment of the usage in Latin litera-
ture is testified to by its occurance as late as Isidore,
De Ortu et Obitu Patrum §§ 5; 9; 10; 12; 18; 19(*tris*);
22; 35; 36; 40 *et alias.* In spite of its extensive use,
however, it was obliged to share its position with iste,
which Isidore wrote instead of hic not infrequently,
e. g., §§ 8; 11; 52. Isidore also writes indifferently
§ 15 Distat autem hic locus and § 5 Distat autem locus
iste. Possibly the influence of his sources here plays
some part, as he quotes them extensively *ad litteram*.

Instead of the usual hoc modo and huius modi St.
Augustine, Epist. 7,2,3*p* writes isto modo, "as fol-
lows", and Hilar. Tractat. in Psalm. 2,2*e* istius modi.
Aulus Gellius employs istius modi more than twenty
times and in connections implying praise as often as
in those which indicate contempt. In many cases one
might write for it huius modi apparently without mar-
ring the sense.

Claudius Mamertus writes for "de ea re hic am-

plius non dicam'' now (*e. g.*, p. 123,19*e*) hinc alias and now (see p. 31,6) istinc alias (*cf.* Vogel's index *s. v.* istinc). Precisely so also Ennodius: istinc alias p. 5,23; hinc alias pp. 52,7; 128,13; 140,14; 224,16; 297,29; 317,7.

Further compare Plautus, Men. 799 hinc stas, illim causam dicis with Claud. Mamert. p. 134,15 E illinc stare et istinc dicere.

In Valerius Maximus 3,2,3 we read hactenus istud instead of the usual hactenus hoc. Lastly we may call attention to the appearance in Celsus 1,*pr.* (p. 9,29 D) of the phrase post ista instead of post haec, which occurs as early as Cicero, Fr. A, III,22(Bait. and K.), and later in Cyprian, De Domin. Oratione 27 *p*; Arnobius 4,36; Commodian 1,29,3.

The falling of all essential lines of demarcation between the two words is attested by the passage in Pompeius, Comment. in Donatum p. 122,34 ff. de dua-bus syllabis quattuor hi sunt: pyrrhicius, spondaeus, trochaeus, et iambus, de tribus VII isti sunt: tribra-chus, molossus, *etc*....de quattuor XVI isti sunt: proceleumaticus.... There are similar passages in Filastrius, Heres. Lib. 33,3 dicunt et dogma ponentes ista, ''the following'', and Jordanes, Get. (33)170 quo-rum ordo iste ac successus fuit: primum Gyzericus, ...sequens.... In Macrob. Sat. 6,7,1 ista = ''the preceding.'' It is of interest to note that estu is used in this way in the Iguvian Tablets II b,23 estu iuku habetu, ''hanc inuocationem habeto'', Bréal, Les Ta-bles Eugebines p. 274; ''istam orationem habeto'', Bücheler, Umbrica p. 148. Filastrius in transitions repeatedly interchanges the two, thus, 30 post hunc;

31 post istum; 32 post istos; 35 post istum; 36 Cerin-thus successit huius errori; 38 post istum; 40 post hunc; 41 post hunc; 42 post istum; 44 post hos, *etc.*

Of not less interest are those passages in which iste and hic stand in one and the same sentence refer-ring to the same antecedent. Examples are not infre-quent. The earliest are in Celsus 2,2*e* ille solicitari debet, cui haec noua sunt; aut qui ista numquam sine custodia tuta habuit; 5,28(p. 215,12 f. D) sed ut haec maximi effectus sunt, si cui ista non adsunt....; 3,6 should not have been cited by Matthias, Index *s. v.*, since the his may here represent an original iis or eis. So also Valer. Max. 9,11*Ext.*4. The same correlation occurs in Pliny's Nat. Hist. 2,85 incomperta haec et inextricabilia....si cui libet ista altius persequi (though we should not fail to observe that ista is here used of a depreciated antecedent and seems almost to be equivalent to talis). The order of iste and hic is reversed in Lactantius, De Ira Dei 5,8 speciose ista po-pulariterque dicta et multos inliciunt ad credendum, si qui haec sentiunt (it may here be questioned whether haec does not stand for ea); and Hilarius, Tractat. in Psalm. 2,13*p* iste irae sermo et....haec indignationis perturbatio. A return to the other order is found in Calpurnius, Ecl. 1,9 f.

> Hoc...., Corydon, nemus, antra petamus
> Ista patris Fauni;

and the anonymous Declam. in L. Serg. Catilinam 85 excitentur hi populi (*sc.* Carthaginienses, Numantini, Graeci) rursum diuinitus, atque istae urbes redeant in statum uetustissimae dignitatis; *cf.* Aug. Epist. 108,11.

Of the various formulae used by the Romans to

express contrasts, perhaps none were better suited to
their purposes or obtained more general currency, than
the familiar hic—ille (*cf. supra*, pp. 79–96). We
should therefore expect it to resist strongly the en-
croachment of a rival on its sphere. Nevertheless, as
early as Valerius Maximus, we find that iste—ille is
beginning to make headway against it, as was seen
above.

We must, however, be on our guard against taking
the mere presence of iste in contrast with ille as in
itself sufficient evidence of its coincidence in meaning
with hic. This error has not infrequently been com-
mitted; yet a contrast between ille and iste in its class-
ical sense is, of course, quite as possible as one between
tu and ille or iste and hic; and such contrasts are
occasionally found. Iste—ille occurs, for example, in
Livy 3,47,7; 22,60,27, and iste—hic in Plautus, Rud.
808 alter istinc, alter hinc; Cic. Ad Fam. 2,11,1 ista
uestra....haec....nostratia (*cf.* 3,10,3; 6,18,5 and De
Re Pub. 1,31). Again it is equally conceivable that a
contrast be drawn between these two words, in which
iste has neither its normal classical meaning nor its
later meaning "this." Such an instance we believe to
be afforded by Seneca, Epist. 47,4(= 5,6,4), although
at the same time conceding that there is room here for
considerable diversity of opinion as to the exact mean-
ing of iste (*cf.* istos qui in § 2 of this same letter). For
the period of the "Silver Latin," at least, we should
not interpret iste in the correlation iste—ille as πρω-
τότριτον, if there is not colateral evidence sufficient to
prove that iste approaches the meaning of hic. In
the passages cited above from Valerius Maximus, there

is colateral evidence enough to establish this usage.
The earliest example after this known to me is from
Lucan 9,417 ff.

> ....Nam cum communiter istae
> Effundant zephyrum, boreae latus illa sinistrum
> Contingens dextrumque noti, discedit in ortus,
> Eurum sola tenens.

Here istae approaches hic in meaning, since it refers
to Africa and Europe, the continents nearer to Rome,
whereas illa refers to Asia, the more remote. Simi-
larly Martial 4,49,10 says of his reading public, lau-
dant illa (Greek literature) sed ista, "my epigrams",
legunt, and Quintilian 8,5,24 in drawing a contrast
between the earlier, ruder attempts of the Romans at
oratory and the elaborate speeches of his own time
refers to the former by illum horrorem dicendi and the
latter by istam nouam licentiam. I can cite no exam-
ple from any prose writer between Valerius Maximus
and Quintilian, though some cases may exist in Celsus
or in Pliny's Natural History, books 4,5,16–22,31–37.
Later writers are not so chary:

Gellius 20,1,4 non enim minus cupide tabulas istas
XII legi quam illos XII libros Platonis de legibus.

Macrobius. From the Saturnalia, compare 5,2,15
illic (in the Iliad)....hic (in the Aeneid); 17 ille
(*i.e.*, Homer) hic (Virgil) with 5,13,3 Homerus....sig-
nauit....at iste (*i.e.*, Virgil); 21 ille cum marino motu
et littoreos fluctus....describit, hoc iste praeteruolat.

Script. Hist. Aug. Balb. 7,7 (a comparison between
Balbus and Maximus) alterum seuerum, clementem
alterum, bonum illum, istum constantem, illum nihil
largientem, hunc affluentem copiis omnibus; an espe-

cially interesting passage as showing iste....ille in correlation with alterum....alterum, although both refer to definite antecedents.

Itin. Antonini Plac. p. 174,1 in ista uel illa ripa.

Ammianus Marcellinus 16,12,47 Alamanni robusti et celsiores milites....dociles: illi feri....hi quieti ....; animis isti fidentes, grandissimis illi corporibus freti.   Observe the chiastic order.

Codex Parisinus of Placidus Glosses (*apud* Götz, Corpus Gloss. V, p. 113,26) longe distat · ab illo sapiente · iste indoctus.

Jordanes, Get. 10(66).

This correlation is especially frequent in the patristic literature.   It occurs as follows:

A. Parallel with hic....ille:

Orosius, Adv. Pag. 2,2,10 Babylon....Roma....illa (the former—the more remote in space)....ista, illa....haec....; 7,2,2 illud (*sc.* Assyriorum—the more remote in space) primum, hoc (*sc.* Romanum) ultimum imperium; illud....istud....; illi...., isti ....; illam...., istam....

Alcimus Avitus, Contr. Eutych. Haeres. 1 (p. 19, 33 Peiper) illic...., hic....; illic...., istas....

Fulgentius, De Aetat. Mundi 2, p. 136 f. illic (more remote in time and interest)...., hic (nearer in time and interest)....: illic...., hic....: illic, hic....: illic...., hic....   Ille legem accipit, ne comedat carnem in sanguine, iste legem suscipit, quo....carne saturetur et sanguine (*cf.* p. 137 below).   Illum...., istum....

Ambrosius, Ex. 6,1,1 E neque enim eadem dicendi condicio, quae canendi et luctandi; cum in illis (the

latter) ludus offensionis, in isto lapsus mortis sit.   illic si pecces, spectantum fastidium est, hic damnum est audientum.   In this type of sentence there is no connection of importance between the writer and the antecedent of iste, so that the correlation under discussion approaches in meaning alterum....alterum.....   Other examples of it are: Optatus 6,6 (p. 154,21 ff.); Faustus, De Gratia 2,3 (p. 63,11 ff.) illa ("the former") ....haec....illa....ista....illa....haec; Alc. Avit. p. 26,28 illi (the latter—Bonosiaci)....isti (the former —Entychiani)....Photinus....hic....*cf.* Fulgentius, De Aetat. Mundi 8, p. 156,18.   These passages show that ille....iste.... and iste....ille.... underwent the same course of development as hic....ille discussed above (see pp. 79–96).   A particularly clear example of iste refering to an indefinite antecedent is found in the description of St. Martin exorcising evil spirits, inserted in Sulp. Sev. Dial. 2(3),6,4 tum uero cerneres miseros diuerso exitu perurgueri: hos.... quasi de nube pendere....: at in parte alia uideres ....uexatos et sua crimina confitentes.   nomina etiam ....prodebant: ille se Iouem, iste Mercurium fatebantur.   postremo cunctos....cerneres....cruciari.

It will be further observed that in the passages here cited it seems not to be a matter of importance whether the correlation ille—iste or ille—hic precedes. In Oros. 2 the former precedes, in 7 the latter.   In Alc. Avit. p. 19 the order illic—hic illic—istos is employed, on page 26 the reverse order; while in Faustus *loc. supra cit.* illa—haec illa—ista illa—haec occurs.

When the correlation ille—iste occurs unaccom-

panied by a coordinated ille—hic, the order ille—iste
is about twice as frequent as iste—ille, if the examples
cited in this paper (twenty-six of the former, thirteen
of the latter) may be taken as a fair representation of
his average usage.

B. In the following there is no such correlation
with hic—ille:

Alc. Avit. Epist. XXIX(27), p. 59,21 (letter of
King Sigismund to Pope Symmachus) istic (here in
Gaul)....illic (there in Italy). The classical usage
would have been hic....istic.... So p. 94,12 illam
plebem refecistis gaudio, istam ditate rescripto.

Ennodius p. 55,31 ille praesto fuit indicibus (locally
more remote) iste.... ille.... iste.... Note the
order ille—iste.

Sulp. Sev. Dial. 1(2),6,7 illa (the Queen of Sheba—
the more remote in time)....ista (the wife of the Em-
peror Maximus, who served St. Martin).

Filastrius § 67,18 non isti (the present nation of
Jews) sed ueteres et periti illi.

Alc. Avit. Contr. Eut. Haer. 1(p. 21,12) in illo (the
former—the Old Testament)...., in isto (the New
Test.).... The two words are used in the same sense
but in the chiastic order in *op. cit.* p. 25,27 obeuntem
(*sc.* Christum) ille (the crucified thief) contremuit,
regnantem iste (Eutyches) fastidit. iste....ille....

Alc. Avit. ex Hom. Lib. p. 115,8 iste (Christus)
...., ille (diabolus)—the nearer and the more remote
in interest.

In Sulp. Sev. Dial. 1,24,2 illi refers to the saints
lauded by Postumianus—the more remote in the inter-
est and sympathies of the writer, while iste refers to

St. Martin, whose cause Sulpicius is advocating. Cic-
ero would certainly have written here isti....hic.

Ennodius LI (= Epist. 2,14, p. 68,14) ad illa (the
latter—temporal honors)....ista (the latter—confes-
sionis praemia)....

In the following cases ille and iste bear the same
meaning as in Ambrosius, Ex. 6,1,1 E, *etc.*:

a) Order iste—ille:

Lactantius 1,11,26 sed finxerint ista quae fabulosa
creduntur: num etiam illa quae de diis feminis deo-
rumque conubiis dicta sunt? In this passage there
is less disparagement of the antecedent of iste than of
the antecedent of illa. *Cf.* Hilar. Tractat. in Psalm.
2,9 *e*; Alc. Avit. ex Hom. Lib. p. 114,3 iste (the lat-
ter)....ille (the former). The closer external resem-
blance of isti to illi may have led Fulgentius Plancia-
des to prefer it to hi in a passage (Mitol. 2,70), in
which he strives to attain the greatest possible pho-
netic correspondence between the two clauses: Epi-
curei...., Stoici....; isti libidinem colunt, illi libi-
dinem nolunt. *Cf.* De Aetat. Mundi 2, cited on p. 134
above.

b) Order ille—iste:

Firm. Mat. 2,3 Osiris iustus (*sc* fuit) Tyfon furio-
sus, ...; ideo ille (the former) colitur, iste uitatur.

Ambrosius, *op. cit.* 1,8,30 F illae (the former)....,
istae (the latter).... So Augustine, Epist. 4,2 *m* and
Alc. Avit. ex Hom. Lib. p. 145,14. In Ennod.
CCCXCVII (= Epist. 8,20), p. 282,30 iste refers to
the last mentioned antecedent, ille to the former.

Still more tangible evidence of the usage iste =
hic is found in the old Latin translations of Greek

writings. Of chief importance are the Epistles of Ignatius, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Novellae of Justinian and the Bible. Of these the second and the last are doubly valuable, because of the existence of at least two distinct Latin translations of portions of of each of them.

In the Greek text of the Pastor Hermae forms of οὗτος occur about three hundred times. In about three-fourths of these instances both of our Latin translations render the Greek pronoun by some form of hic. In forty-five instances one translation has iste and the other hic. In five instances both have iste. Only three of these last cases, however, have come down to us without *variae lectiones* in the manuscripts: Visiones 3,3,2, where both translations read isti and istae, and Mandata 10,1,3, where the Palatine has similitudines istas and the Vulgata quaestiones istas. In the three other instances the editio princeps of the Vulgate has forms of hic. Aside from these passages iste occurs in the Vulgate only six times as a translation of οὗτος.

(*cf. the following page.*)

Palatina.	Greek.	Vulgate.
nequaquam super seruum domini hoc negotium.	Vis. 1,2,4 Μηδαμῶς ἐπὶ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο.	absit a seruo dei res ista.
et cum pausassem interrogans eam de omnibus his.	Vis. 3,8,1 ὅτε οὖν ἐπαυσάμην ἐρωτῶν αὐτὴν περὶ πάντων τούτων.	cum ergo desini interrogando illam de omnibus istis.
sufficiat tibi commonitio haec.	Vis. 3,8,9 ἀρετή σοι ἡ ὑπόμνησις αὕτη.	sufficiet tibi commemoratio ista.
misericordiam suam creaturae suae indulsit et hanc poenitentiae occasionem dedit, cui me praefecit.	Mand. 4,3,5 Ὁ Κύριος ἐσπλαγχνίσθη ἐπὶ τὴν ποίησιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔθηκεν τὴν μετάνοιαν ταύτην, καὶ ἐμοὶ ἡ ἐξουσία τῆς μετανοίας ταύτης ἐδόθη.	misertus est figmento suo et posuit poenitentiam istam et potestatem poenitentiae huius ‖ huiusmodi cod. Dresd. ‖ mihi dedit.
et ait mihi: arbor haec salix est.	Sim. 8,2,7 ἀποκριθείς μοι λέγει τὸ δένδρον τοῦτο ἰτέα ἐστίν.	ait mihi: arbor ista salix est.

To these should be added the doubtful passage Mand. 8,6

Palatina.	Greek.	Vulgate.
haec sunt, inquit, quae carere debeas.	ὧν μὲν οὖν δεῖ σε ἐγκρατεύεσθαι, ταῦτά ἐστιν.	a quibus ergo debeas abstinere, haec sunt ‖ ista ed. princ. illa Cott. Dress.‖

In the Palatina iste occurs more frequently (forty-two times + Sim. 9,22,3, where Gebhardt and Harnack print suam instead of istam).

Next in chronological order follow the examples from the New Testament. Iste is frequently used in the four Gospels and almost exclusively to represent οὗτος. In Matthew all the manuscripts of the ante-Hieronymian translations, so far as they are preserved to us, agree in eleven instances with the Vulgate in rendering οὗτος by iste. In other instances one renders by iste the other by hic. In many cases both show hic. The following illustrations will give an idea of the relations of the manuscripts to each other:

Matth. 7,28 τοὺς λόγους τούτους.

uerba haec Vulg.

sermones istos k. The symbols here used are those regularly employed to designate the MSS of the ante-Hieronymian translations of the New Testament: a = Vercellensis (*saec.* IV–V), a² frag. Curiensia (*saec.* V), c Colbertinus (*saec.* XI), d Bezae Cant. (*saec.* VI), e Palatinus-Vindobonensis 1185 and Dublinensis (*saec.* IV–V), f Brixianus (*saec.* VI), f¹ Corbiensis I (*saec.* VIII), f² Corbiensis II (*saec.* V–VI), h Vaticanus Claromontanus (*saec.* IV–V), i Vindobonensis 1235 (*saec.* VII), k Taurinensis, *olim* Bobiensis (*saec.* IV–V), l Reh(not Rhe)digerianus (*saec.* VII), q. Monacensis (*saec.* VII), r Dublinensis Usserianus I. See N. T. Graece ed. Tischendorf, 8th edition, Vol. III, prolegomena, by Caspar Gregory and N. T. rec. Wordsworth and White I, p. xxxi.

Matth. 18,10 ἑνὸς τῶν μιχρῶν τούτων. Unum ex his pusillis Vulg. *plerique.* istis E, Q, f, e, q.

19,20 πάντα ταῦτα. omnia haec or haec omnia Vulg. omnia ista e, q, l.

25,45 ἑνὶ τούτων τῶν ἐλαχίστων. unum de minoribus his Vulg. istis f¹, f².

25,46 ἐπελεύσονται οὗτοι. ibunt hi Vulg. isti h.

To these must be added six other passages in which only d reads hic (10,23; 12,41; 42; 13,56; 18,14; 19, 1), the hic being due probably to a corrector's hand.

Luc. 13,16 τούτου isto Vulg. *caet.* c, e, f, f², i, l, q, r. hoc a, a², d.

In Ignatius' letters the following cases occur:

Epist. ad Magn. (interpolata) 3 οὐ γάρ τουτονὶ τὸν βλεπόμενον πλανᾷ τις, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀόρατον παραλογίζεται, τὸν μὴ δυνόμενον . . . . non enim istum uisibilem quis spernit, sed illum inuisibilem in eo contemnit, qui non potest. . . .

ad Trall. (interpol.) 7 e τούτων. istis (=diaconi).

ad Phil. (interpol.) 5 πῶς δὲ χαὶ μάγος οὗτος, ὁ . . . . quomodo igitur magus est iste (*sc.* Christus) ‖ Usser and his predecessors ille ‖, qui.

cf. ad Phil. (interpol.) 6 πῶς . . . . οὗτος θεὸς ὁ . . . . ; quomodo . . . . deus iste ‖ Usser and his predecessors ille ‖ qui.

In Justinian's Novellae iste is occasionally, but not frequently, used to translate οὗτος.

We may also compare the Vocative o isti (= o uos) in Arnobius 4,8*p* (p. 147,10) (*cf.* also 1,41*p*; 2,13; 36; 4,17*p*) with Aristophanes, Nubes 1502 οὗτος, τί ποιεῖς;

Finally Planciades Fulgentius, Mitol. 1,7(= p. 21,2) translates tuton phone by istarum uox. As his purpose is only to give a Latin equivalent of the Greek words per se, without reference to any special context, the citation gains greatly in value.

Similarly the grammarian Dositheus, *apud* Keil VII,376–436, in his parallel paradigms of Greek and Latin pronouns, gives both hic and iste as equivalents for οὗτος. See especially p. 402,21 ff.

I am not aware of any semasiological changes undergone by οὗτος in the course of the post-classical period, that could seriously detract from the value of the citations here made to establish the prototritonic character of iste.

Side by side with these translations stand the glosses, which for the most part are now conveniently accessible in Götz's Corpus. The following definitions are taken from them:

Vol. II, p. 390,32 (*cod.* Laudensis) οὗτος hic iste is
    p. 390,33   "   "   οὗτοι hi isti ei
    p. 457,49   "   "   τοῦτο id · hoc istud
    p. 452,6   "   "   ταύτῃ hac istac
    p. 92,57 (*cod.* Parisin. 7651, pp. 1–212) iste
          is οὗτος

Vol. IV, p. 87,13 (*cod.* Vat. 3321 *saec.* VII) histic hic
    p. 87,26   "   "   "   hicste (for hic ste =
        hic iste) hicine istum
    p. 88,17 (*cod.* Vat. 3321 *saec.* VII) huiusce-
        modi huius modi istius modi

    p. 88,18 (*cod.* Vat. 3321 *saec.* VII) hunine (for
        huncine?) istum uero
Vol. V, p. 109,23 (*cod.* Par. 1298 *saec.* XI) his · istis
    p. 108,7   "   "   "   hec · ste
    p. 110,12   "   "   "   huncine · istum uero
    p. 110,13   "   "   "   huius modi · istius
        modi
    p. 300,23 (Glos. Amplonianum II *saec.* IX)
        hic iste
    p. 305,21 (Glos. Amplonianum II *saec.* IX)
        istic hic

The variant readings h̄ istud and hoc istud of C and F in Livy 3,52,6 doubtless owe their origin to glosses.

The last certain line of evidence which we have to cite is afforded by the Romance languages, several of which have preserved modified forms of iste with the meaning "here" and kindred meanings (*cf.* Körting, Wörterbuch, Nos. 2770,2771,4438).

    este Spanish, Catalanian, Portuguese.
    ist Rumanian, Old French (only in oaths).
    est Provençal.
    ecce + iste = acest Rumanian.
    cist Provençal.
    icist Old French.
    cet, ce Mod. French.
    ecc [um] + istu [m] = questo Italian.
                 = kešt Rhetian.
                 = aquest Provençal.
                 = aqueste Spanish, Portuguese.

Italian: costui, costei, costoro, cotesti (from eccu

[m] + ti < tibi + isti), cotestui, –ei. The last three are applied only to the second person (see p. 117 *supra*), stamattina, stasera, stanotte.

To one who reflects that the Romans of the later empire were thoroughly familiar with this usage of iste, the well known definition of Priscian (Keil III, 142 f.) can offer no difficulties: demonstratiua uero ut 'hic', 'iste' uel 'ille.' sed interest, quod 'ille' spatio longiore intellegitur, 'iste' uero propinquiore, 'hic' autem non solum de praesente, uerum etiam de absente possumus dicere, ad intellectum referentes demonstrationem. This shows that the native grammarians felt that hic and iste had a very close resemblance in meaning. In fact they so far confused them, as actually to use in paradigms the forms of iste instead of hic as a substitute for the Greek definite article. See below p. 205, and *cf.* Servius, Commentum in Donatum p. 410,16(K).

Possibly some inferences affecting the present discussion might be drawn from the incorrect orthography isthic. Was this introduced by the ancient Romans themselves under the erroneous supposition that istic was a compound of iste and hic? Such a supposition might easily be founded on the close resemblance that they felt to exist between the two pronouns.

As for the geographical extension of the usage iste = hic, we find it in Rome and in other parts of Italy (in the works of Palinus in Milan, Cassiodorius, Ennodius and Jordanes), ·in Sardinia (in those of Lucifer Caralitanus), Sicily (in Firmicus Maternus), Africa (in Cyprian, Tertullian, Arnobius, Lactantius, Ambrosius, Augustine, Fulgentius), Mauretania? (in Pompe-

ius [Maurus]), Spain (in Prudentius, Orosius, Isidore), Aquitania (in Ausonius?, S. Silv. Peregr., Prudentius, Sulpicius Severus, Itinerarium Burdigalense), Southern France (in Cassianus, Hilarius, Salvianus?, Alcimus Avitus), Dalmatia (in the inscriptions: C. I. L. III,1, No. 2628; Suppl. No. 9259—Saloni) and Pannonia (inscriptions C. I. L. III,1, 3351—Alba Regia—; 4185—Savaria?). This general survey reveals the inexactness of the current notion that the usage iste = hic is peculiarly African Latinity. The frequency of its use in Africa (*cf.* Schmalz, Lateinische Syntax 3d ed. p. 444) is in my opinion to be accounted for simply by the close approach of the style of the African writers to the conversational tone. We know that their literature was mainly addressed to the less highly educated.

Chronological limits of the usage. Since the Romance words quoted above stand as living testimony of the usage iste = hic in the latest period of the Latin language, it remains only for us to determine the date of its first appearance. Valerius Maximus is the earliest author cited in this chapter as having the usage iste = hic, to whose writings we can assign a definite date post quem non. Five of the ten instances he offers us occur in books 2–5, and as the proemium of book 6 was written before the death of Julia, they fall before the year 29 A. D. There is no reason for doubting that the dates of the composition and publications of the different books followed each other in the present numerical order of the books. The passage 9,11 was written immediately after the fall of Sejanus. The instances in books 7 and 8 would

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therefore probably fall between the dates 29 and 31
A. D. The date of Celsus is not definitely known.
If he was born about 2 A. D., he could have written
the De Medicina before 29 A. D., in which case he
would be a slightly earlier witness to the usage than is
Valerius Maximus.

As the extant works of these two authors were
written some eighty years after Caesar, and as their
rhetorical training was entirely different from his, it is
somewhat surprising to note that several editors of
Caesar, among them Dinter (p. 127) and Kübler (p.
142), print as an *ad literam* citation from Caesar's
De Analogia the words found in Pompeius, Com-
mentum in Donatum p. 144,20: duae sunt Albae, alia
ista quam nouimus in Aricia, et alia hic in Italia.
uolentes Romani discretionem facere, istos Albanos
dixerunt, illos Albenses.   The words discretionem and
dixerunt (for nominauerunt), as well as the position of
the participle arouse suspicion as to the genuineness
of the fragment, but the introductory words of Pom-
peius, ait sic Caesar, would lead one to assume, as
Dinter does, a word for word citation.   Yet an exam-
ination of Pompeius' manner of introducing his cita-
tions shows us that we must not take his formal state-
ment too exactly.   To illustrate, on p. 188,38 he cites
with the words sic ait Probus' words that do not at all
agree with the corresponding passage of Probus (p. 82,
16 K), and similarly p. 102,9 and 165,18 he assigns
words to Terentianus and Donatus which differ greatly
from the extant passages of these authors.   The edit-
ors are therefore certainly wrong in assigning the
words to Cæsar, and the lexicographers Menge-Preuss,

Meusel and Merguet are equally in error for including
the word in their respective lexica.

Unfortunately we are not able to reach so definite
a conclusion as the foregoing in the case of a fragment
of Accius' Annals preserved in Macrob. Sat. 1,7,37

> Eumque diem (*sc.* Saturni) celebrant: per agros
>   urbesque fere omnes
> Exercent epulis laeti famulosque procurant
> Quisque suos; nostris itidemst mos traditus
>   illinc
> Iste, ut cum dominis famuli epulentur ibidem.

There are no clear indications that this passage is
indirect discourse.   The general tone is entirely con-
sistent with a descriptive passage forming a part of
Accius' own narrative.   Furthermore, iste refers to a
Roman custom which is contrasted with a Greek
one (illinc), and to which the pronoun hic would natu-
rally be applied.   I would gladly prove here, were it
possible, that Accius used iste in the present passage
as a substitute for hic, that his readers might not be
confused by instinctively feeling hic, so close after
illinc, as an adverb and perhaps think it an error
for huc.

Two passages antedating that in Caesar remain to
be discussed.   Both are inscriptions.   The first is
found in the C. I. L., Vol. I, 1st. ed. p. 208, No. 818.
It is said to date from the last years of the republic or
the first years of the empire.   It is a curse pronounced
upon a person named Rhodine, and engraved upon a
lead tablet, which was thrown upon a grave.   The
expressions that bear on our discussion are: quomodo

mortuus qui istic sepultus est, nec loqui nec sermonare potest, seic Rhodine apud M. Licinium Faustum mortua sit, nec loqui nec sermonare possit. ....seic R. accepta sit et tantum ualeat, quantum ille mortuus qui istic sepultus est. All are familiar with the usual forms, hic sepultus est, hic iacet, hic situs est, *etc.* We might then be inclined to assume that iste here stands for hic, an assumption that would be confirmed by the occurrence of hoc in a similar *dira* (C. I. L. No. 819) and by the fact that in a corresponding Greek inscription *TOYTOΣ* (=τούτους) is used (see Rhein. Museum IX,367,—Lenormant). In addition to this, iste also occurs in a number of epitaphs of the imperial period in the expressions iste lapis (C. I. L. III,3351; 2628), titulus iste (VI,17505) and the like. We may further observe, that the formula hoc monumentum heredem non sequitur, so often inscribed on tombs, has a close parallel in Martial 1,116,3–6

> Hoc tegitur cito rapta suis Antulla sepulcro,
> Si cupit hunc aliquis, moneo, ne speret agellum:
> Perpetuo dominis seruiet iste suis.

Yet it must not be overlooked that the document under discussion, while a curse, is yet in form a prayer to some divinity, who stands to the speaker in the relation of second person. From this point of view the istic of our inscription might be regarded as normal. Be the case as it may with the present inscription, iste never succeeded in wholly displacing hic in this formula. This may be inferred, not only from the presence of the latter adverb in the Romance languages, but also from the fact that iste occurs almost exclusively

in metrical inscriptions, where its use may have been occasioned by the exigencies of the verse.

The other inscription referred to is found in C. I. L. 1, No. 820. It contains the phrase IN ITVSM ANNUM, which Gamurrini, the finder of the inscription, explains as an error of the stone-cutter for ISTVM. The phrase would therefore represent in hunc annum. If iste = hic occurs in carefully written literature in or about the year 30 A. D., there is nothing unreasonable in the assumption that it occurred in conversation, and hence might occur in non-public inscriptions, fifty or sixty years earlier. We cannot accordingly approve of Mommsen's condemnation "aus sprachlichen Gründen" of Gamurrini's correction. See Hermes IV,282.

The length to which this usage has been dwelt upon in the present chapter might leave on the reader an impression that iste in the later periods of Roman literature had quite usurped the place of hic. Here, however, as is often the case in language development, the birth of the new does not imply the death of the old. Although weakened in meaning, hic maintained its position; and even down to the eighth century, we find it numerically stronger than iste. That the reverse was true of the *sermo cotidianus* may be inferred with some degree of certainty from the very frequent use of iste in documents, the tone of which approaches that of conversation. One striking instance strongly confirms this inference. Pompeius, the grammarian, probably a native of Mauretania, wrote in the latter half of the fifth(?) century his commentary on Donatus, a book which contains numerous reminders of the

conversation in the school room, and the style of which undoubtedly stands very near to that of the spoken language. He alone of Latin writers reverses the relative standing of hic and iste. On one hundred and eight pages (Keil, pp. 95–203) the nominative hic is not found at all. This and the other peculiarities in the use of these two pronouns can be best exhibited by means of a comparative table:

	hic	iste
Masc. sg. Nom. (hic—iste)	0	24
Fem. sg. Nom. (haec—ista)	ca. 7	39
Neut. sg. Nom and Acc. (hoc—istud)	235	1
Neut. pl. Nom. and Acc. (haec—ista)	33	80
All other cases	28	192
Adverb (hic—istic)	15	0

In this table there are of course included only those cases of iste and hic in which the words are used as free elements, *i. e.*, not in stereotyped formulae, in which words often continue a formal existence, although really obsolete.

What has taken place appears to be entirely normal. Differentiation has led to the rejection of hic substantive and adjective, and the retention of its phonetic equivalent exclusively in the adverbial function, while iste has come into use for the former noun functions of hic. In the fem. sing. also ista has notably encroached upon haec, (possibly following the analogy of the masc. sg.), and in the other cases, with the exception of the Nom. and Acc. neut, sg. and pl., the encroachment is still greater. The plural haec, which in all periods was used very largely, has made a much stronger resistence, while hoc (Nom. and Acc.) has

kept the field to itself. The only instance of the neuter (it is not spelled istum, but istud, after the analogy of illud) is found on page 185, line 28. This last result is just what we should have expected, for even in Cicero the forms hoc and haec as substantives exceed in number all other cases combined. That the phenomena exhibited in the above table are no passing phase nor a peculiarity of a particular writer, is shown by the evidence of the Romance languages, in which the forms hoc and hic (Adverb) always remained in use, as the Italian words qui, "here", and ciò, "it", from eccum+hic and ecce+hoc respectively, amply testify. It is true that modern Italian also possesses questo, which, although grammatically masculine, is applied to neuter objects. It must have come into use after hoc and ecce+hoc lost the character of a πρωτότριτον. The same rejection of istud[c] in favor of hoc, attended by a decided preference for Nom. iste over Nom. hic is found in the A and B classes of Scholia Terentiana published by Schlee, particularly in the "explanationes praeambulas" to each scene. Istud, p. 102,23, is perhaps due to the source from which the compiler drew his scholia, just as istuc, p. 160,22, is due to the influence of Terence. The form ista for haec frequently occurs, just as in Pompeius.

In the preceding discussion there have been cited in the main only passages in which iste occurs outside of direct discourse, yet from those authors who wrote later than Suetonius occasional passages have been cited of the opposite character. In justification of this it may be said, that, although the occurrence of iste

outside of direct address is evidence that it does not
serve as δευτερότριτον, the converse is not true. Indis-
putable instances of iste = hic in direct discourse are
cited from Lucan on p. 123 above. There are two
cases of iste in Cicero's dialogue De Senectute which
seem to me to bear no reference to the second person.
In section 29 etsi ipsa ista defectio uirium (the words
of Cato) the words defectio uirium contain a sentiment
which is in no sense to be connected with Scipio or
Laelius, to whom Cato directs his remarks, since in
sect. 15 the idea is distinctly attributed to some third
parties, vaguely suggested by the subjunctive uidea-
tur. These same indefinite persons are likewise con-
ceived as the authors of the cibi et potionis auiditas
implied in ista in section 46. It is true, that they are
the advocates of ideas and arguments combated by
Cato, and hence they are, in a certain sense, in the
position of opponents to him. Nevertheless it is only
Scipio and Laelius who, strictly speaking, can be re-
garded as standing to Cato in the relation of persons
addressed; for, although the Aristotelian dialogue
gives the two collocutors but little opportunity to
speak, Cicero never for a moment allows his reader
to lose sight of the conversational character of the
composition (*cf.* De Amicitia 4 ipse mea legens sic
afficior interdum, ut Catonem, non me, loqui existi-
mem). It would not be difficult to find other instances
of this class in Cicero's dialogues. We can see no
reference to the second person in Terence And. 215

> Ad haec mala hoc mihi accidit etiam: haec
> Andria,

> Si ista uxor siue amicast, grauida e Pamphilost;

Haut. 530   Istunc seruolum
> Dico adulescentis;

Eun. 823,4   Iste Chaerea.
> Qui Chaerea? Iste ephebus frater Phaedriae;

nor in Plaut. Curculio 465, where there is no good
reason for associating the sychophant with the audi-
ence, whom the choragus is addressing. This is also
true of iste in Truc. 340; 349; Aul. 702; Pseud. 1053;
Mil. 128 and other passages. In these cases, there is
usually some degree of contempt implied either in iste
or in the context. We should hesitate, nevertheless,
to affirm, that in all the cases cited iste approaches hic
in meaning. Some of these passages, with over fifty
others, are mentioned or discussed by Bach, *op. cit.* pp.
257–226. It must be admitted that Bach's explana-
tions are often ingenious, but he deduces little positive
evidence to prove his points. He shows how iste *may*
in each case be interpreted as a δευτερότριτον, but not
that it *must* be interpreted as such. In the absence
of more conclusive proofs the matter must remain
uncertain.

As iste is a very strong demonstrative, it usually
refers to or modifies words upon which for some rea-
son especial stress is laid. It is therefore not surpris-
ing to find it normally refering, particularly in the
"Silver" Latinity, to the main object under discussion.
By no writer is it more frequently so used than by
Aulus Gellius, who is especially important to us for
the light he throws upon the meaning of the word (*cf.*
also Gaius 1,50).

We now approach the most interesting and most

important, though at the same time the most difficult,
and in a sense the most unsatisfactory section in the
discussion of this pronoun, namely, that which treats
of the semasiological nature of the change iste > hic.

The difficulties that face us here arise partly from
the non-existence in the present case of several lines
of evidence which are usually of the greatest assist-
ance in tracing changes of meaning.   First and fore-
most, we do not know the etymology of the word with
sufficient certainty to base an argument upon it.
Secondly, we possess no exact definitions of the word
by the earlier Romans.   Furthermore, we can receive
but little light from the analogous pronouns in other
languages.   The suggestion that οὖτος contains in
its second syllable the same element that forms the
second syllable of iste, is debatable; and even if iste is
identical with Umbrian estu,—which is highly proba-
ble, if not certain,—the scanty remains of the Umbrian
dialect do not supply us with enough data to deter-
mine the exact meaning of the Umbrian word.   We
cannot therefore be certain whether the classical mean-
ing of iste is a primary or a secondary meaning; and
if secondary, we cannot know how far it stands re-
moved from the primary.   Under these circumstances
we can scarcely attempt more than to suggest what
seems to be a plausible explanation of the nature of
the change from the classical meaning to the later one.
Even this may seem overbold.

Since the classical writers use the word almost
exclusively as a δευτερότριτον, we will suppose that its
use as a demonstrative of the first person is developed
out of its classical usage, and is not concentric with it.

The relation of the antecedent of iste to the second
person may vary greatly in character and degree of
intimacy.   It may be either very close or very loose.
It may, for example, be one of ownership or of posses-
sion or of mere proximity.   It may be simply one of
interestedness, more or less keen, or of mere attention.
Furthermore this relation may have no existence out-
side of the mind of the speaker.   Such an object has
in almost every instance a more or less intimate local
relation with the first person also.   This springs from
the circumstance that, iste being confined for the most
part to conversational use, the persons communicating
are usually in each other's presence.   Since moreover
the object is the mutual object of conversation, it
occupies also a large place in the speaker's interest;
and this interest is the more likely to be very keen,
because, as stated above, the strong demonstrative
force of iste leads, for the most part, to its use in
refering to antecedents upon which particular stress is
laid, (see p. 153).   Hor. Epist. 1,6,67 and Sat. 1,4,13
cited above seem to me to exemplify this usage, and to
them we may perhaps add Cic. Ad Fam. 2,7,4 cum te
tribunum plebis isto anno fore non putarem.

By a very slight change (unconscious, of course) in
the attitude of the speaker, iste may be employed not
to refer to something actually related to the second
person, but to bring some object into relation to the
second person.   This use of iste awakenes in the per-
son addressed an interest in the object.   This change
could arise from a slight anticipation on the part of
the speaker.   He has before his mind an object, in
which he desires to interest another, and conceives as

already accomplished the effect which in reality will immediately follow his mention of that object. Nothing is more common than such an attribution of our own feelings and sentiments to others. In this case the interest of the speaker in the object is at least as great as that of the person addressed, and iste in this way gradually loses its character as δευτερότριτον, and comes to mean approximately "ecce hic." If this explanation is true, we may also add that the frequency with which secondary subordinate ideas were associated with iste facilitated this change.

But there is another point of view, from which we may regard this change, and by which an explanation of the meaning of iste is offered that often appeals to me more strongly than the foregoing. Let us assume for iste the etymology of Schweizer–Sidler (see above, p. 112), which involves the further assumption of a very strong meaning for iste. Let us also bring the meaning of iste into connection with that of οὗτος and οὑτοσί, with which it will probably also contain common etymological elements. In this way we shall be led to posit for iste, in the classical period, a very strong deictic force. Its function will then be, to direct sharply and pointedly the attention of the person addressed to some object, upon which the speaker's mind dwells with keen interest, and either to communicate to the second person the knowledge of the existence of this interest or to awaken in him a similar interest. If we were to seek for a parallel in a modern language, we should find the German locutions dies da and das da to correspond roughly to iste, although with considerably weaker deictic force.

On the assumption of this etymology and meaning for iste, it is not difficult to explain the classical and post classical usages.

In the first place we shall not be constrained to assume a necessary association of iste with the person addressed; nor shall we be forced, in consequence of this, to distort and misinterpret such passages as those from Cicero's De Senectute cited above (p. 152). Delicate "Nuancen" of meaning no longer need to be called in to eliminate such examples of iste as seem to disprove its universal character as δευτερότριτον.

Furthermore a keen interest of the subject[1] in the object (the antecedent of iste) implies that the subject has determined, or is in the process of determining, the relation of that object to itself, *i. e.*, to its life process. It follows as a corollary to this, that iste with its context asserts (directly or by connotation) a predicate of the object. This predicate varies with the varying relation of object to subject. It may be disparagement or commendation, contempt or praise, *etc.*, *etc.*, or wonder, arising from an undetermined attitude. The great numerical excess in classical prose of instances in which iste implies contempt, is easily accounted for. The only forms of literature extant in this period, in which it is frequently used, are orations and philosophical dialogues, in which iste, refering usually to something connected with the person addressed, is, of course, used of an antecedent held in contempt, scorn, disparagement, *etc.*

Again, on this hypothesis we can easily account

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[1] The word "subject" here means the person from whom the thought procedes.

for the extensive use of iste as δευτερότριτον. Iste as a strong deictic pronoun can be used only in cases of direct address, when the speaker and the listener stand face to face. Hic is still a strong demonstrative, and sometimes is itself used with deictic force (*cf.* Cic. De Sen. 4 saepe....admirari soleo cum hoc C. Laelio). The same is true of ille. But ille is a remote demonstrative and hic a near demonstrative, while iste (as deictic pronoun) is neither.[1] Accordingly hic and ille, so long as they retained their respective forces unweakened, sufficed to designate objects either near to or remote from the speaker, while iste tended to associate itself with objects that fell under neither of these two categories; and, chiefly in the language of the orators and of the disputants in sharply conducted dialogues of an argumentative character, it proved itself highly valuable as an instrument for expressing the contempt of the speaker for all that was associated with his opponent. I am not inclined to think that in conversation iste was applied as exclusively to the second person as it is in our extant literature of the "Golden" age. In fact, I have no doubt, that could we enjoy the boon of listening for a day to the conversation of an ancient Roman family in their everyday life, our notions respecting the restriction of the application of this word to contexts in which it connotes contempt or refers to the second person, would undergo remarkable changes.

Lastly, on this hypothesis the development of iste into a πρωτότριτον is simply explained. When hic lost

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[1] See, however, the limitation of this statement toward the end of the following paragraph.

it protritonic force, just as in English the word "this" is losing its reference to the first person, the Romans unconsciously began to employ new means for pointing out the nearness of objects to the speaker, just as I felt it desirable to write on page v above the words "the present work" instead of "this work", which would mean id opus or is liber, not hoc opus or hic liber. Two of these new means maintained themselves many centuries side by side; namely, ecce hic, ecce haec, *etc.*, and iste (later ecce iste or eccum istum; see below p. 214 f. For the relation between them see below p. 205. The pronoun iste with its strong deictic force, being used in cases of direct address, was applied to objects which, like those referred to by the German da, were in plain sight or in the presence of the speaker. It was therefore used for the most part of objects that would have been referred to by hic, had this last still retained its stronger demonstrative force; and so naturally fell into the place of hic, just as ille naturally succeeded to is (see below, p. 194).

B.   ISTE AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR ILLE AND IS AND FOR THE DEFINITE ARTICLE.

During the period of the "Silver" Latinity, the pronoun iste is occasionally found referring to objects remote from the speaker and from the person addressed. As has been suggested above, the strict usage of iste as a δευτερότριτον by no means precludes its use to designate such objects, and this usage must have increased in range when iste began to lose its deictic character, or when it connoted a strongly characterised predicate, such as the idea of contempt.

When the word began to lose the character of a pronoun of the second person, the use referred to became still more natural. Many difficulties in the way of explaining the usage are done away with, when we assume that the classical meaning of iste is not its original one. Down to at least as late as the second century of our era, the word retained a strong demonstrative force and was used, as suggested above, in calling attention to objects in which for some reason much interest centered. As it came in this way to connote a predicate, the particular character of which depended upon the context and varied with the attitude of the subject toward the antecedent of iste, it was not infrequently used in the sense of talis. So closely did it approach this word in meaning, that we find it preparing the way for a following result clause (like is—see p. 3 *supra*—and hic); while Aulus Gellius (19,1,18) goes so far as actually to translate τὰς τοιαύτας φαντασίας by uisa istaec (observe the deitic –ce appended). While this implication of a predicate greatly facilitated the application of iste to objects remote from the subject and the person addressed, it at the same time sharply distinguishes iste from ille, which only exceptionally connotes such a predicate. It is therefore inaccurate to identify iste in meaning with ille.

The first century A. D. marks the most radical and rapid changes in the meaning of iste, and it is to the literature of this period, especially to Seneca the Younger and the poets, as also to Aulus Gellius, that we must primarily look for the evidence on the subject. Pending my further study of the subject I may refer to the scattered remarks to be found in the fol-

lowing books: Goelzer, *op. cit.* p. 89; Ebert in the Acta Sem. Erlangensis II,327; Obermeier, *op. cit.* p. 16; Rauschning, De Latinitate L. Ann. Sen. Phil. p. 70.

As a consequence of the frequent use of iste as a substitute for hic, it followed the same path of deterioration in meaning with that pronoun, and sank to the mere function of a determinative (this does not imply, of course, that it did not retain also in some connections a strong demonstrative force until late in the history of the language—*cf.* the strong demonstrative force retained by is; see *supra* pp. 3 f). A close approach to such a usage is found in Celsus 8,12(= p. 354,16), cited *supra*, p. 119. Such passages are frequent from Celsus on. In fact the word so far deteriorated that in the later periods, as will be pointed out in the last chapter, it was used as a substitute for the definite article. See p. 205 for further remarks on the subject.

CHAPTER IV. IPSE.

CHAPTER IV.   IPSE.

For the classical usage of the intensive pronoun, I may refer to the excellent discussion of Nägels-bach–Müller, Lateinische Stilistic § 91.   The main features of the classical meaning and construction are preserved at least as late as the seventh century of our era.   At the same time there were developed certain usages quite distinct from these.   The later meanings of the pronoun may be roughly indicated by the equations: ipse = idem, ipse = ille or is, ipse = Definite Article.

A.   IPSE = IDEM.

The narrow limit which defines the spheres of the ideas represented by these two adjectives, is exemplified in the following early English citations:

Till she was slayn right in the selve place.
—Chaucer, Frankl. Tale 16170(= 11706 T).
Than hit semet, for-sothe, that the selfe woman
Wold haue faryn hym fro.
—Destruction of Troy 13828 (E. E. T. S.)
To shoot another arrow that self way
Which you did shoot the first.
—Shakespeare, Merch. of Venice, I,i,148.

In English we say, "the same object," "the very object," "the self-same object," "the very self-same object."   In the Latin language also these two words

approach each other very closely in certain construc-
tions, even in the classical period. A remarkably
instructive parallel may be drawn between the two
passages:

| Enn. Ann. 8 (M) terra-
que corpus quae dedit
ipsa capit. | Cic. De Sen. 72 sic
hominem eadem optime,
quae conglutinauit, natura
dissoluit. |

In the immediately preceding lines Cicero had said,
opus ipsa suum eadem, quae coagmentauit, natura
dissoluit. Ennius means, "that very (same) terra";
there is here no contrast between terra and something
else; we have rather the statement, that two acts pro-
cede from one and the same agent. "It is the earth
that both builds up and destroys the human body."
Compare the conditions presented in this sentence with
Kühner, Ausführl. Gramm. II,457 "Das Demonstra-
tiv idem....wird oft gebraucht, wenn einem und
demselben Gegenstande, von dem schon eine Bestim-
mung ausgesagt ist, eine andere neue Bestimmung er-
theilt wird." It is true that the relative clause con-
tributes here in no small degree to the expression of
the conception of identity; yet it is equally true that
the relative clause receives no slight support from ipse.
The difference between the function of the relative
clause here and in such a sentence as legionarii per
nonnullas horas uim hostium soli sustinuerunt; tandem
aduenit ipse imperator, qui sese adhuc in tabernaculo
continuerat, is that in the latter instance, it adds a
new predicate to a grammatical subject already clearly
characterised or described; in the former case, the
clause adds a predicate that is essential to the under-

standing of the antecedent. Sentences of this type
are not common in classical Latin. One example is
found in the Lex Quinctia de Aqueductibus quoted by
Frontinus (printed in Bruns' Fontes Iuris Romani
Antiqui, 6th edition, p. 114,47) ipsorum qui permisis-
sent curatorum nomina (*cf.* the passage above from
Ennius) means "the very ones," *i. e.,* "the same ones
who had granted permission". This law dates from
9 B. C. During the second century, however, the
usage is more frequent and from Tertullian on occur
numerous instances of the construction ipse qui = idem
qui. The relative clause sometimes precedes, but it
more often follows ipse. In addition to the passages
cited under sect. 1, we may quote De Pudicit. 13 (p.
246,1) ipsam substantiam damnans, per quam excide-
rat; *cf.* De Resurr. Carn. 1 ipsos....exurit, quos....
nutrit iisdem ignibus et promerens; Serv. ad Geor.
1,39 Proserpina ipsa est quae et Luna; S. Siluiae Pere-
grinatio 4,5 (p. 42,7) montes ipsos, quos ingressi
fueramus pridie sera; sed non ipsa parte exire habe-
bamus, qua intraueramus, *et al.*; Cassian. Conl. 18,16,
8 ipsa....lues est, de qua....dicitur per prophetam;
Salvianus, De Gub. Dei 4,11 ipsi in nobis mores sunt,
qui in seruolis nostris; so also 5,6; Epist. 9,18; 19; all
of which passages are to be found cited in Pauli's
index. In Salvian. Ad Eccl. 2,8 with licet ipsum
accipiat the words quod alius accipit must be supplied.
In the index to Petschenig's edition of the Passio VII
Monachorum is cited sect. 12 (*uerba infantuli cuius-
dam*) cum ipsis sum in timore Dei conuersatus, cum
ipsis desidero passionem suscipere, cum quibus credo
me et futuram gloriam inuenire; and Helm in his

index to Planc. Fulg. cites Mitol. 2,pr,65(M) ipsum
(*sc.* Deum) proferat qui ista contribuit. In this in-
stance the use of ipse may, however, be justified by
the character of its antecedent. From the last half of
the sixth century (570) we read in Antonin. Plac. 15
(p. 170,1) stat in ipso statu in quo fuit.

At least four passages may be cited in which the
relative clause precedes ipse. They are, besides Tert.
De Spectac. 21, Commodian, Apol. 322.

> Per quod prius hominem prostrauerat morti
>   malignus,
> Ex ipso deuictus;

Schol. Gronov. ad Cic. Rosc. Amer. 117 apud quem
....praemium.... ipsum potuisse occidere Roscium
(cited by Landgraf *ad loc.*) *cf.* Greek παρ᾽ ὦ....αὐτόν;
Augustine, De Civ. Dei 5,21 qui Mario (*sc.* regnum
dedit), ipse Gaio Caesari....

Lastly under this head we may refer to Symma-
chus, Epist. (p. 267,12), although this passage is sus-
ceptible of a different interpretation (ipsorum = ?
eorum).

Among the pagans Macrobius also shows the usage
(*cf.* Somn. Scip. 1,10,9 ipsa corpora, quibus).

Of more frequent occurrence than either of these
constructions are the collocations is ipse, hic ipse, ille
ipse, iste ipse, expressing identity, all of which are
known to Plautus and Terence, and are found in all
periods of the Latin language. (See Niemöller, De
pron. ipse et idem apud Plaut. et Ter., Halle, 1887, p.
31 f.) Clear examples are: Cic. Lael. 16 id ipsum
cum tecum agere conarer, Fannius anteuertit. Phil.

2,74 quin his ‖ "iis malim"—Orelli ‖ ipsis temporibus
domi Caesaris percussor ab isto missus ‖ inmissus
Wölfflin ‖ deprehensus dicebatur, "at the same time";
Lucr. 1,433

> Nam quodcumque erit, esse aliquid debebit id
>   ipsum;

Caesar, Bell. Gall. 6,37,1 hoc ipso tempore et casu;
Bell. Alex. 52 eoque ipso die; Vell. Pat. 2,125,4 in id
ipsum....incendium; for Tacitus see Ger. und Gr. p.
693, col. 1; Florus 1,8(13),19 illam ipsam; Hilarius
Pict. Tract. in Psalm. 118 Iod,6 eo ipso in tempore.
Of these phrases the neuter singular id ipsum gained
the greatest currency. At a later period it was often
used as a translation of τὸ αὐτό, *e. g.*, 1 Cor. 1,10
παραχαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς.... ἵνα τὸ αὐτὸ λέγητε πάντες obsecro
....uos....ut....id ipsum dicatis omnes (new ver-
sion "that ye all speak the same thing"). In Matth.
5,47 τὸ αὐτό = id ipsum, whereas in 46 τὸ αὐτό is ren-
dered sic. The above Latin translations are taken
from the ante-Hieronymian texts. The Vulgate reads
hoc in both the passages from Matthew. Other New
Testament examples are to be found in Rönsch, Itala
und Vulgata pp. 424 f. This mode of translation is
not confined to the New Testament, being found also
in Ignatius, Epist. ad Philad. (interpol.) 10 in id
ipsum (ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ); so also Sec. 6; Ad Philip. 1; Ad
Magn. 7 (interpol.). It found a rival in hoc ipsum,
which occurs in Ignatius, Epist. Ad Smyrn. (inter-
pol.) 5; Ad Trallianos (interpol.) 9, where ταὐτόν is
rendered by hoc ipsum. In Ad Philip. 1 in hoc ipso
canone represents ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χανόνι. In the Authenti-
cum of Justinian, Novel. 22,11; 22,29*pr.* τοῦ αὐτοῦ and

ταὐτό are represented by hoc ipso and hoc ipsum. The usage was doubtless encouraged by the Greek collocation αὐτὸ τοῦτο (*cf.* Novell. 22,14 hoc ipsum; 38*pr.*, 2 de hoc ipso; *et al.*) and ταὐτὸ τοῦτο (*op. cit.* 22, 47,2; in 22,30, however, ταὐτοῦ τούτου is correctly rendered by hoc idem). The Greek phrase τὸ ἕν was frequently used as synonymous with τὸ αὐτό in such passages as Ignatius, Epist. ad Philip. 2,2, where τὸ ἕν φρονοῦντες is rendered by unum sentientes (with τὸ ἕν expressing identity compare the Latin expressions unum atque idem, unum idemque, in use from Cicero on—*cf.* Lael. 92—and especially common after Suetonius and Apuleius). Even as early as the time of Aulius Gellius id ipsum had come to be so completely identified in meaning with idem, that it was able to take the place of idem in a phrase so widely used and hence so stereotyped as unum atque idem. (See Aul. Gell. 6(7),21,2 unum atque id ipsum tamen in utroque uerbo ostenditur.) This usage is paralleled by the Greek ἕν καὶ τὸ αὐτό, which occurs at least as early as Aristotle (see Bonitz, Index Aristot.) It would be equally justifiable to assume, that the Greek ὁ αὐτός was the main influence that led to the *origin* of the usage. The thoroughgoing adoption of this word by nearly all, if not by all the Latin writers, precludes us from assuming that ὁ αὐτός had any greater influence than that of encouraging the usage. That ὁ αὐτός did exercise a strong influence in this latter direction, particularly on the Patristic literature, cannot be doubted. We have noted the phrase in Arnobius, Lactantius, Ambrosius, Augustine, Cassianus, Hilarius of Poitiers, Alcimus Avitus and others.

Parallels to these phrases in other languages will readily suggest themselves, as the German derselbe.

In all of these collocations the demonstrative pronouns, like the definite article in ὁ αὐτός, derselbe and "the same," aid materially in the expression of the idea of identity, which is frequently still more definitely set forth by the addition of a relative clause. Good examples of this form of construction are Bell. Alex. 73 eum ipsum locum cepit, in quo Mithridates secundum proelium aduersus Triarium fecerat; 70 id ipsum commemorarent officium; in which both the relative clause and the correlative pronoun contribute to the expression of identity (*cf.* Vell. Pat. 1,14,3 eo ipso anno quo; 2,125,4 his ipsis .... gladiis, quibus; Val. Max. 4,5,6 inter ipsum illud tempus, quo; Celsus 7,4,4(p. 268 D); Sen. Contr. 1,2,12 (*Gallionis uerba*); Quint. 10,2,3).

On the use of ipse alone in the sense of idem, there is but scanty information to be found in the standard text books. Neither Kühner nor Dräger mention it. Schmalz in Reisig's Vorlesungen, III, Anm. 369 (p. 102) makes only one brief statement: "Manchmal muss es" in der späteren Latinität "die Stelle von idem vertreten, *cfr.* Koffmane, Geschichte des Kirchenlateins p. 137, wo dieser Gebrauch für Commodian festgestellt wird." In his Histor. Stilistik (in Müller's Handbuch II,1³, 1900), which was published twelve years later, he cites no earlier example than Fredegar 1,125 ipso anno = eodem anno. According to Sittl and Wölfflin the usage is African.

The earliest instance I know of a passage in which an unsupported ipse approaches idem in meaning is

Varro, De Ling. Lat. 9,84 f. sic as....et unum est et multitudinis habet *sensum* infinitum ("the plural *asses* does not indicate a definite number, as does duo, decem, *etc.*"); dicimus enim asses (indef. pl.), quos cum finimus, dicimus dupondius et tressis et sic porro. sic uidetur mihi, quoniam finitum et infinitum habeat dissimilitudinem, non debere utrumque item (=eodem modo) dici, eo magis quod in ipsis uocabulis ("in the same words"), ubi additur certus numerus in miliari*is* || militaris Florentinus || aliter atque in reliquis dicitur; nam sic loquontur: hoc mille denarium, non hoc mille denari*orum* || *sic* L. Spengel; denarii F. || et haec duo milia denari*um* || *sic uolg.*; denaria F || , non haec d. m. denari*orum* || *sic* Christ *et* L. Spengel; denarii F || . We may thus paraphrase this passage: 'The word *as* is singular and has an indefinite plural'—*i. e.*, the plural *asses* in and of itself gives no indication of the number of *asses* meant. 'Now when we make the number of *asses* definite, we use the words dupondius, tressis, *etc.* Accordingly, since there is a difference between the definite and the indefinite plural in this word, the two should not be expressed by the same form. A justification for making such a distinction is found in the usage which dictates that, when in *the same* words a numeral is added to the word milia, making the number of the thousands definite, a special form of the Genitive plural, not analogous to the regular forms, should be employed. That is to say, usage demands hoc mille denarium, not denariorum; haec duo m. denarium, not denariorum.' If the emendations of Christ and Spengel are correct, Varro implies that we should say multa milia denariorum, but decem

milia denarium. This same distinction should apply on the principle of analogy to sestertium and sestertiorum, nummum and nummorum, talentum and talentorum, medimnum and medimnorum, *etc.*; and, as Varro himself points out, the distinction was normally made in the words treuirum, duumuirum, *etc.*, in which expressions the shorter form of the Genitive plural was employed, although the longer form was elsewhere employed. We may not translate, "even in these words", a force often carried by ipse, for Varro is not comparing the compounds of *as*, with any other words. His only point is either "It is precisely in these words I am discussing, that a distinction is observed," or "in one and the same word the distinction is observed." In either case Varro is asserting that two facts are true of the same thing, that is, according to the first alternative we are dealing with two distinctions of the plural forms of compounds of *as*, which distinctions may be set forth in the proportion:

asses : dupondius, tressis, *etc.* :: denariorum multa milia : denarium haec duo milia

In this case in ipsis uerbis "in the same words" means "in compounds of *as*." According to the second assumption, we are dealing with a discrimination in the Genitive plural that is met with in one and the same word, *i. e.*, denarium; or in the same words respectively, *i. e.*, denarius, sestertius, *etc.* In both these cases the word uocabulis causes some difficulties, perhaps only apparent, which are not removed even by the interpretation suggested above "even in these words". If in this passage the word *his* stood before *ipsis*, no scholar would find anything abnormal in

the passage. However there is no documentary evidence that a word has been lost. The passage is important as being the earliest instance in Latin literature of the encroachment of ipse on the sphere of idem.

A close parallel to the second interpretation proposed above is found in Pompeius, Comm. p. 118,7(K) nec dicas mihi, positione fit longa (*sc.* the last syllable of cano before Troiae in Virg. Aen. 1,1). non : nam liquida non iuuat nisi in ipsa parte orationis ("in the same pars orationis," *i. e.*, with the lengthened syllable). Compare p. 126,25(K) in eadem parte orationis.

In a passage in Manilius (1,698), mentioned by Sittl, Locale Verschiedenheiten der latein. Sprache p. 115,

Orbemque ex illa coeptum concludit in ipsa.

Ipsa in this passage rests on the authority of the best MSS., while illa (adopted by Scaliger—Paris 1579, Heidelberg 1590, Leyden 1609—from the older editions) is found only in the poorer MSS., among them Leidensis 3 (= Voss. 2).

I am unable to cite instances of this usage from writers between Manilius and Suetonius. A clear instance is found in the latter, Oct. 94 Augusto uiso ....affirmauit ipsum esse cuius imago secundum quietem sibi obseruata sit. Possibly the use of ipse is here justified by its reference to Augustus, the αὐτός. Compare Nero 24 aurigauit....etiam decemiugem, quamuis id ipsum in rege Mithridate reprehendisset. From Minucius Felix Sittl, *l. c.*, cites 11,4?; 7 and Landgraf on Cicero's Roscius Amer. 132 cites 4,4 ipsius sectae homo, where Halm proposes superfluously

to read istius. We may add in this connection the instructive passage 30,4 Romanis (*sc.* ritus fuit) Graecum et Graecam, Gallum et Gallam....uiuentes obruere, hodieque ab ipsis....Iuppiter homicidio colitur.

At least six distinct lines of evidence may be distinguished, in which the character of ipse as a pronoun of identity is clearly demonstrated by the context.

1. Ipse appears parallel with idem and unus either
   a) in one and the same sentence, or
   b) In the same type of context, but in distinct sentences.

For type

1 a) Tertullian opens the series with the passage, De Spectac. 21 sic ergo euenit, ut qui in publico uix necessitate uesicae tunicam leuet, idem in circo.... exuet; ut et qui...., ipse....; et qui...., idem...., in which ipse is parallel with idem. He is followed by the versio vulgata of the Pastor Hermae, praef. pastoris uisionum numero quinque, mandata eiusdem numero XII, similitudines ipsius numero X; Arnob. 4,22*p* eodem .... eodem .... eodem...., ipso .... ipso ....; and Pomp. Comm. 127,32(K) ergo eadem erit ratio in illis pluribus, quae in tribus syllabis, ipsa in VI syllabis, ipsa etiam in VIII.

Ipse stands parallel with unus in Optatus 2,15(p. 50,8) etenim cum Africanos populos et orientales et ceteros....pax una coniungeret et ipsa unitas....; *cf.* 5,1(p. 121,17) denique et apud uos et apud nos una est ecclesiastica conuersatio, communes lectiones, eadem fides, ipsa fidei instrumenta, eadem mysteria, in which sentence it is apparent, that no more serious influence than the desire for variety, has led the writer

to employ four different words to express the idea of identity. Nor are the resources of the Romans exhausted with these four words idem, ipse, unus, communis, as Optat. 5,4(p. 126,23) shows: permanent (*sc.* Trinitas et fides credentis) semper *immutabiles* et *immotae*; trinitas enim semper ipsa[1] est, fides in singulis una est. This passage has also an especial value as illustrating another point of contact in the general meanings of ipse and idem. We might here translate the last phrase: 'The trinity is always precisely itself', in the same way in which we may speak of a man being himself under all circumstances. We mean, of course, not that the trinity is itself in contradistinction from some other thing, but that it, under all circumstances, displays the same fundamental characteristics, as is shown by the words that immediately follow: uim suam semper retinent ambae.

1 b) For the use of ipse parallel to idem but in different sentences we may note the following types of construction:

in quoting a second or third citation from the same writer the usual form of expression employed was idem dicit (Varro, De Ling. Lat. 7,98 apud Plautum ....(99) apud eundem. So Gellius, Macrobius, Augustine, Speculum *passim.* Instead of this we find ipse in Optatus 3,3 (p. 80,21); 3,5 (p. 85,23)— although these two passages admit of a different interpretation—in Filastrius, Heres. Lib. 121(= 149),8 ideo et Dauid de Iudaeis dicit: "deleantur...." et

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[1] *Cf.* Ant. Plac. Itiner. 42(p. 188,10) ipsam uirtutem semper operaretur, cited by Geyer in his index under the rubric ipse = idem.

ipse iterum: "et in...." Compare with these the titles of the poems of Ennodius (ed. Vogel) 190 a ALITER DE EODEM; 190 b ALITER DE IPSO; 190 c ALITER DE IPSO.

In the above citations the words idem, unus, *etc.*, almost without exception precede ipse. It seems hardly probable that this is pure accident. I should rather be inclined to regard it as a justification for the use of ipse in a sense which it does not usually bear. In this way the reader is prepared in advance for the unusual meaning of the word.

2. In other cases the identification of ipse with idem is made clear by a contrast in varying forms with alius. This group of passages is opened by Minucius Felix 11,7 (words of Caecilius) uellem tamen sciscitare (the discussion is about the resurrection), utrumne cum corporibus || *an sine corporibus add.* Halm || , et corporibus quibus, ipsisne an renouatis resurgatur? sine corpore? hoc, quod sciam, neque mens neque anima nec uita est. ipso corpore? sed iam ante dilapsum est. alio corpore? ergo homo nouus nascitur, non prior ille reparatur. Similarly Ambrosius, Exam. 2,2,5(24d) (section 4) et dixit deus: fiat firmamentum ....prius consideremus quid sit firmamentum, utrum ipsum sit quod in superioribus caelum appellauit an aliud. Ipse is contrasted with alter in Ennodius 212, 6(= carm. 2,94)

Alter te dominus, sed manet ipse labor.

Alius must be read between the lines in Serv. ad Virg. Geor. 1,458 hoc ad futurae serenitatis pertinet signum: nam si de ipso die dicas, stultissimum est.

3. So completely did ipse take on the meaning of

idem, that it has even crept into certain local, temporal
and other adverbial phrases and formulae, although
such combinations are usually the last to allow any
encroachment on their spheres. We may mention
from S. Silv. Peregrin. in ipso loco (2,2), in ipso
itinere (7,6), in ipsa ecclesia (25,11). Commodian,
Apol. 823 gives us

> Exurgit interea sub ipso tempore Cyrus;

Alc. Avit. Poem. 4,86 tempore sub ipso; Jordanes,
Get. (60)307 in ipso tempore; while ipso tempore
without a preposition appears in Optatus 2,2 (p. 39,
6); Vict. Vitensis, Hist. Persecut. Afr. Prov. 1,43
(= 1,14) ipso enim Geisericus praeceperat tempore
(observe the separation of ipso from its substantive,
also noticeable in sect. 19(= 1,6) ipso gestum est tem-
pore); and in Jordanes, Rom. 38.

Ipsa autem die occurs in S. Silv. Peregrin. 25,11
(p. 76,29) and in ipsis diebus, in Cassianus, Inst. 3,
12 and Conl. 21,20,3.

Instead of the normal eiusdem modi or eodem
modo we find in Filastrius, Heres. Lib. 122,1 (= p.
87,24) ipso modo.

4. There are numerous other passages in which the
general context shows that ipse is used as a pronoun
of identity, although there is no clear parallelism with
special words such as idem and alius.   Such are Com-
modian 2,16,9

> In ipsis uersaris iterum;

Apol. 829

> Ipse redit iterum sub ipso saeculi fine,

and, with an accompaning similiter, in Ps–Hyginus,

De Limit. Constit. p. 207,10 primo lapide inscribe-
mus DM KM. ab hoc deinde singulis actuariis limiti-
bus similiter per ipsos inscribemus DM limes II, KM
limes II.   Other examples are Commodian 1,6,1

> Iouis tonat, fulminat ipse,

(here ipse may be justified by its reference to Jupiter);
Script. Hist. Aug. Firmus 3,3 f. idem (*sc.* Firmus) et
cum Blemmyis societatem....tenuit....naues quoque
ad Indos....misit. ipse quoque dicitur habuisse duos
dentes elephanti.   Yet in this last case there may pos-
sibly be implied in ipse a contrast between the general
traffic carried on by Firmus' boats and some of his
private acquirements through commerce.   Ipse is
found twice in succession in Pompeius, Comment. in
Donat. p. 199,24(K) Uirgilius scripsit bucolica, ipse
scripsit georgica, ipse scripsit Aeneida.   It is not
unlikely that Pompeius found this citation (for the
words are probably not Pompeius' own) in Donatus.
Similarly in Commodian we read 2,29,17

> Cum ipsis et epulas capitis et pascitis ipsos.

In the following four instances the context proves the
usage ipse = idem with especial clearness: Optatus
1,27(p. 29,3) in ipsa causa....duorum laborare; Au-
gustine, De Civ. Dei 2,—(p. 103,19 D) III · IV
et IV · III ipsum faciunt (cited by Landgraf, *ad*
Schol. Gronov. ad Cic. Rosc. Amer. 132, p. 76);
Luc. Car. De Reg. Ap. 1,9(p. 18,9) Sabellius....fuerit
ausus dicere ipsum sibi et Patrem esse et Filium et
Spiritum Sanctum (For various reasons I would here
assume a direct Greek influence); Pompeius, *op. cit.* p.
205,1(K) ipse est casus in istis: et cuias nominatiuus

est et cuiatis nominatiuus est; Placidus, Lib. Glos-
sarum ed. Götz V, p. 133,17 pinus ipse plurari (*sic!*)
singulari que numero; Placitus, De Medicinis ex Ani-
malibus, 24,5 uolturis iecur totum cum sanguine ipsius
tritum....caducos emendat might be taken to mean
"of the same vulture", (exactly the same usage 30,4),
did not the phrase strongly remind us of the frequency
with which Pliny the Elder employs ipse to mark
an entirely superfluous contrast between an animal or
a plant itself and some part of the same animal or
plant or with some thing connected with them.

Further citations are: Optatus 3,5(p. 85,23); 6,4
(p. 151,4); in both of which passages ipse should per-
haps be interpreted as an equivalent of is, although
Ziwza in his index cites them as ipse = idem; Filas-
trius 6,1; 60,2; Cassianus, Inst. 5,40,1; Contr. Nest.
3,7,4; 4,6,7; 13,3; Jordanes, Getica (35)182; Rom. 32.

The conservative style of the jurisconsulti did not,
as it seems, admit the usage. Kalb, Roms Juristen
p. 140 knows only one instance from the Digest, a
citation from Marcian (D. 49,1,5,4), and we cannot
be certain that even this is not the result of the liber-
ties which the compilers of the Digest took with their
sources.

5. The old Latin translations of Greek writings
are as useful to us in writing the history of ipse as they
were in discussing iste. Idem appears in them as the
regular translation of ὁ αὐτός, yet the confusion be-
tween ipse and idem led frequently to the employment
of the former as a translation of ὁ αὐτός; and in the
process the correspondence in meaning between ὁ αὐ-
τός and ipse may have been an important factor of

influence. The painstaking literal character of the
old translations may still further have encouraged the
tendency. The rendering of τὸ αὐτό by id ipsum has
already been mentioned. To the instances cited on p.
119, we may add Pastor Hermae, Mand. 10,3,3 μεμιγμένα
ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό Versio Palatina: commixtum in id ipsum
(notice that id has lost *all* reference to any particular
antecedent). Versio Vulgata: writes simply mixtum.
The usage is also found in the Vetus Interpretatio
Latina of the Epistle of Barnabas (5th century A. D.).
Ignatius, Epist. ad Magnes. (interpolata) 6 renders
ὁ αὐτός διαμένει by ipse permanet, and Ad Trall. (inter-
pol.) 6 translates ταὐτὸν....εἶναι (*sc.* λέγουσιν) πατέρα καὶ
υἱὸν καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιόν by ipsum dicunt esse Patrem, ipsum
Filium, ipsumque Spiritum Sanctum. The words
cited above from Lucifer Car. 1,9 are a literal transla-
tion of this passage. From the Pastor Hermae, Vis.
3,1,2 is gleaned also αὐτῇ τῇ νυκτὶ (observe the order of
the words), Versio Palatina: ipsa nocte. Vers. Vul-
gata: eadem nocte (*cf.* 3,10,7). A single example
from the New Testament will suffice, Luke 10,21 ἐν
αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ in ipsa hora, Vulgate, *caet.* b, c, d, e, f, f²,
i, l, q, r; eadem a, a²; illa E, P ᵐᵍ, R. The Authen-
tica of Justinian do not stand on the same high level
of purism with the Digest. In the former ipsa ap-
pears:

Novella 22,18(p. 158,30 Sch.) ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν αἰτίων
=ex ipsis causis;

40(p.175,25) ταῖς αὐταῖς ποίναις...ὁποίας
= ipsis poenis....quas;

(*cf.* p. 175,33) τὴν αὐτὴν ἥνπερ
= eandem quam and p. 176,7 iisdem poenis);

25 pr.(p. 196,4) ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν....προφάσεων

= ex ipsis occasionibus;

29,1(p. 219,34) ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς τάξεως

= in ipso ordine.

On the contrary, apparently under no special conditions that do not hold as well in the cases just cited, ὁ αὐτός is rendered by idem 24,1(p. 190,38) in idem; 25,1(p. 197,17) in idem; 26,1(p. 203,29) in idem; 30,11,*pr.*(p. 234,16) idem; 28,4,2(p. 216,6) sub eodem; 29,5,*pr.*(p. 222,35) eandem; 49,*pr.*(p. 288,15) in idem. A more careful examination of the usage of the Authentica would doubtless reveal some interesting facts.

Along with these translations should be mentioned the two passages cited by Kalb, *op. cit.* p. 140 from the Lex Romana Uisigothorum. These passages are translated from Gaius into Spanish Latin: Gaius, Inst. 3,151 donec in eodem consensu perseuerant = Lex Rom. Uis. 2,9,17 ipso; Gaius 3,10 = Lex Rom. Uis. 2,8,3; Gaius 3,90 = L. R. U. 2,9,1.

6. Lastly comes the definition of the glossary Cod. Vat. 3321(*saec.* VII) *apud* Götz, C. G. L. IV, p. 89,1: idem · ipse.

On the geographical extension of the usage the range of authors cited above throws some interesting and valuable light. We note first that the usage occurs in the works of the following African writers: Minucius Felix, Tertullian, Arnobius, Lactantius (?), Ps–Cyprian, Commodian, Optatus, Augustine, Passio VII Monachorum, Victor Vitensis, Cerealis, Fulgentius Planciades, and in Mauritania(?) (Pompeius [Maurus]). It is surprising that Apuleius is missing from this list. Koziol does not find the usage in his works.

Florus, the historian, was also doubtless an African. Although he uses ipse more extensively than any other Latin writer, he does not know it in the sense of idem. So great is the frequency of this usage in Africa that some scholars have been led to regard it as of African origin and as particularly characteristic of the African Latinity.

Next after Africa stands southern Gaul. To the extreme west belong the Peregrinatio ad Loca Sancta assigned to Saint Silvia, (also perhaps Antonini Placentini Itinerarium) and the Lex Romana Uisigothorum, 506 A. D. Still farther to the north is Hilary of Poitiers, and eastwards are Cassianus, Salvianus and Alcimus Avitus. From Sardinia comes Lucifer Caralitanus with one single instance. In northern Italy we have Ambrosius, Filastrius, Ennodius and Jordanes; in central Italy Varro the Lex Quinct. de Aqueduct., Marcian (?), Ps–Hyginus, De Limit. Constituendis, Servius, Placitus (perhaps influenced by a Greek source, perhaps by Pliny), and Macrobius. To these should be added the Scholia Gronoviana ad Cic. and the glossary Cod. Parisinus 3321.

In other words the usage is thoroughly established in the western Mediterranean basin. A careful study of Prudentius, Orosius, Merobaudes, Idacius, Eugenius, Braulius and Isidore would perhaps establish it for Spain.

As for the chronology, the earliest indications have been discussed above. It appears in Africa certainly between 217 and 222 (Tertullian, De Pud.), possibly shortly after 203 (De Resurrectione Carn.) or even twenty to forty years earlier, if those scholars are

right who assign to Minucius Felix a date prior to
Tertullian's Apologeticus (published in the year 197
or shortly after.) In Aquitania, south eastern Gaul
and Sardinia, the fourth century marks the begin-
ing. An anonymous manuscript in Einsiedeln, dating
from the end of the eighth or the first half of the
ninth century and containing a collection of inscrip-
tions, may be cited as a late instance of this usage (C.
I. L., VI, 1, No. 1199 a. b.)

In the compound istum + ipsum the usage has
yielded the regular Italian pronoun of identity stesso.

We would naturally expect ipse, after it became so
fully identified with idem, to show the same weaken-
ing that idem shows in its adverbial use in classical
Latin. Such a passage is Minutius Felix 1,4 sic solus
in amoribus conscius, ipse socius in erroribus (ipse =
item).

B. IPSE = ILLE OR IS.

The essential character of ipse in classical Latin is
found in the fact that it almost invariably connotes a
contrast (*cf*. Nägelsbach–Müller, *l. c.*) In the classi-
cal Latinity this contrast is usually strong and the
antecedent of ipse is consequently brought very promi-
nently before the reader, while the object with which
it is contrasted sinks into the background. Dräger,
Histor. Syntax I², 81, however, remarks: "erst seit
Curtius, der das Pronomen mit besonderer Vorliebe
anwendet, finden sich Stellen, wo dasselbe das Subject
ohne besondere Hervorhebung bezeichnet, zum Bei-
spiel, 3,1,8 nisi intra eos (*sc*. dies) auxilium Dareus
ipsis misisset." Similar in purport is a statement of
Lönnergren, De syntaxi Sulp. Sev. (Upsala, 1882, p.

10). Krebs, Antibarbarus (*s. v.* ipse) defines the
time limit of this usage by the extremely vague word
"schliesslich."

At the very outset we must realise the danger of
confusing this usage with that discussed in the previ-
ous section. There are many passages in which it is
very difficult, or even impossible, to decide whether
ipse stands nearer to idem, to ille or to is. For exam-
ple Frontinus, De Limit. 2 (p. 33,20) si fuerit....
uallis quae conspectum agentis exuperet, per ipsam
metis ad ferramentum adpositis erit descendendum,
one would be rather inclined to assume, that ipse bears
the meaning of is. Possibly some of the passages
cited on pp. 167, 168 should be transferred to this
section. A most perplexing case is Acta Apost. 16,33.
Rönsch, Collectanea Philol. p. 186 cites this passage
from the Gigas Bibliorum Holmiensis sumens eos ipsa
hora noctis with the explanation "ipse für is und ille."
On p. 101, however (= Vollmöllers Roman. Forsch. II,
287 he explains this ipse as equal to idem and compares
22,13, where the above mentioned text and the Canta-
brigensis offer ipsa hora, the Vulgate, however, eadem
hora. Since the Greek text here reads αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ,
while in 16,33 the Greek text has ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ, and
the Cod. Cantabrigensis correspondingly reads illa,
and Laudianus has ea and Lucifer Caralitanus, De non
Parcendis in Deum Delictis p. 268 has eadem, one cer-
tainly cannot fail to be bewildered. The passage
illustrates with remarkable clearness the freedom that
prevailed in the usage of the pronouns in the third
and fourth centuries of our era.

Even earlier than Curtius there are passages in

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which ipse implies no strong contrast, as in Catullus 64,66 f.

> Omnia quae toto dilapsa e corpore passim
> Ipsius ante pedes fluctus salis adludebant.

Moreover there is no sufficient reason for interpreting ipse in the sense of "the mistress," the Pythagorean αὐτός. The epic poets in general, who could not make free use of is, showed a decided preference for ipse, and by their frequent employment of the word, doubtless paved the way to its depreciation in meaning.

There is a second passage in Varro, Res. Rust. 3, 10,7 quotienscumque sumpserunt (*sc.* anseres ad saginandum), locus solet purgari, quod ipsae ‖ ipsi Jucundus ‖ amant locum purum, neque ipsae ullum, ubi fuerunt, relincunt purum. The context does not admit of the translation 'not even these,' for there is no contrast here. The only possibilities are either to take ipse as an equivalent of idem, or as a somewhat strong personal pronoun.

To the above mentioned passage from Curtius should be added 4,3,12 where the much discussed MSS. reading ipsas may be defended as a strong personal pronoun: tris (naues) ante ipsa moenia opposuerunt (*sc.* Tyrii), quibus rex inuectus i p s as demersit.

Pliny's Nat. Hist. offers several peculiarities. Very weak indeed is the contrast between dies earum (*sc.* halcyonum) partus and auis in 10,89: dies earum partus maria qui nauigant nouere. ipsa auis paulo amplior passere. Very similar are the passages 28, 48; 25,74 (ipsius duo genera); 29,101 fimum gallinacium .... inpositum et *m*uris aranei caudae cinis

ita, ut ipse, cui abscissa sit, uiuus dimittatur. In Pliny's Epist. 8,20,4 mihi ostenditur subiacens lacus nomine Uadimonis: simul quaedam incredibilia narrantur. perueni ad ipsum, the contrast between incredibilia and lacus is weak and unnecessary. Gerber and Greef cite eight passages from Tacitus under the rubric "ui quadam imminuta": Hist. 4,11,11; 84,25; Ann. 1,1,12; 3,46,5; 68,6; 4,16,17; 68,10; 12,47,11. Six are from the Annals, which show Tacitus' freest style.

In view of the extensive use of ipse = idem in Africa, it is not surprising that we should find ipse = is in Apuleius, Met. 2,11 (p. 47,18) quod dictum ipsius ('of his wife') Milo risu secutus, "grandem", inquit ....; and Florus 1,22(2,6),58 ille Italiae, hic Hispaniae uictor.... sed et colloquium fuit inter ipsos de legibus pacis. Possibly ipse in this passage is justified by its reference to the leaders of the two armies.

The usage is found in the earliest of the patristic writers. Minucius Felix 3,1 minorem ad te quam ad ipsum infamiam redundare. There is, to be sure, a contrast here, but not between two objects that are closely associated. We should, however, usually hesitate to interpret the word in this way when its antecedent is Christus or deus.

From this point on examples may be easily found by reference to the excellent indices in the volumes of Vienna Corpus of Ecclesiastical Writers and the Monumenta Hist. Germaniae. See also Rönsch, Collectanea Philol. p. 186.

There can be no doubt that αὐτός in the sense which its oblique cases often bear, contributed not a little to the development of this usage of ipse, not only in the

Latin translations of Greek writings, but also in the entire Patristic literature, which was subjected to a very strong influence of the Greek. From the numerous instances of ipse = αὐτός that these writings offer, we select the following:

Pastor Hermae:

Palatina.	Greek text.	Vulgata.
et tu desideras sedere cum ipsis.	Vis. 3,2,2 σὺ δὲ κατεπιθυμεῖς καθίσαι...μετ' αὐτῶν.	tu autem cupidus es sedere ....cum eis.
si non ascenderit in corde eorum.	Vis. 3,7,6 ἐὰν μὴ ἀναβῇ ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν.	si non ascenderit in cor ipsorum.
nullum apud eum mendacium est.	Mand. 3,1 οὐδὲν παρ' αὐτῷ ψεῦδος.	non est mendacium in ipso (*i. e.*, Deo).
agnosce illum a factis ipsius.	Mand. 6,2,4 γνῶθι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ.	intellige eum ab operibus eius.
sensus illorum in actibus ipsorum est.	Mand. 10,1,5 (*Gr. supplied by Hilgenf.*) ἡ διάνοια αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς πραγματείαις αὐτῶν.	sensus eorum in negotiis. ipsorum est ‖ eorum est V ‖.
aliqui ex ipsis.	Sim. 8,9,4 ἕτεροι δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν.	alii ex his (orthographical variant for iis).

New Testament:

Greek text.	Vulgate, *etc.*	Ante-Hier. versions.
Matth. 23,21 ἐν τῷ κατοικοῦντι αὐτόν.	in eo qui habitat in ipso. Also a, c, f², g¹, h, l.	qui in eo habitat *cod.* Pa-latina.
Matth. 23,22 ἐν τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ.	in eo qui sedet super eum ‖ ipsum E (Cod. Cott.).‖ Also b, c, e, g¹, l.	in eo qui sedet super ipsum h, f², Dubl. 4.15.
Matth. 17,22 αὐτῶν συστρεφο-μένων.	conuersantibus eis ‖ illis Q, R ‖. Also g¹, g², f.	ipsis a, b, c, e, f², g.
Matth. 17,2 ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν.	ante eos. Also a, q. ‖ in conspectu eorum *alii.* ‖.	coram ipsis e.
Joh. 6,50 ἐξ αὐτοῦ.	ex ipso ‖ eo E, f. ‖. Also c.	ex eo q, b. illo a.

CHAPTER V.

CHAPTER V.

HIC, ISTE, ILLE, IS, IDEM, IPSE, IN THE FUNCTION OF
THE DETERMINATIVE AND OF THE DEFINITE
ARTICLE.—SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

In this chapter I shall discuss briefly from another
point of view the subjects treated in the preceding
chapters, showing how the Romans made the pronouns
serve the functions of the definite article and the de-
terminative, and in conclusion shall add a few general
statements necessary to the proper appreciation of the
arguments set forth in this book.

The six pronouns is, ille, idem, ipse, hic and iste
are so closely inter-related in meaning and usage, that
a full understanding of the development of each of
them must be based upon a due consideration of all
the rest. In order to present each pronoun in its
proper perspective and to set forth, at least in broad
outline, its relationship to the others, I shall be
obliged in the following paragraphs to state some of
the results obtained in my study of the pronouns ille
and idem. The details, however, of the arguments
on which these results are based, must necessarily be
omitted (see Preface, p. vii).

Probably none of the six pronouns mentioned ap-
proach each other so closely in meaning as do the
determinative and the remote demonstrative. They

are both used mainly to refer to definite antecedents, both are τριτότριτα, and both may be used, and are frequently used, in referring to an object remote from the speaker, in space, time or interest. Accordingly it is not surprising that, as the pronoun is gradually lost its force and sank to a syntactical element which carried but little independent meaning, and as the need was felt for some other means of expressing the meaning formerly carried by is, recourse was first had to ille. It needs no arguments to prove that in Plautus' time ille had in general a much stronger force than the pronoun is. The legal literature, the language of which is always conservative, and Cato's De Agricultura (*cf. supra* p. 28 f.) supplies us with an approximate standard for estimating the average prose usage of a period considerably antedating the years in which they were actually written, *e. g.*, of the time of Plautus.[1] Nevertheless, conspicuous indications in Plautus' language point to the beginings of later and weakened meanings of ille. On this point see Bach, *op. cit.* p. 296. The deterioration of ille was in large part a consequence of its use as a substitute for is, but was doubtless materially hastened by the extensive use which the orators made of it, and by the tide of rhetorical influences that set in from Greece with the end of the third century B. C. and rose to so strong a flood in the "silver" age. In the period last mentioned the proportionate increase in the use of ille over

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[1] Provided, of course, a later recension has not materially affected the usage of ille and is. Since such a recension must have been made before Pliny the Elder wrote, I hold it for improbable that the pronouns were much changed.

is is very conspicuous, as may be seen from the tables on pp. 30 and 31 above; and this numerical predominance of ille implies a corresponding weakening in its meaning.

In the form ille qui particularly it made headway against is; but there are other phrases, in which ille would have been impossible or at least inappropriate as a substitute for is. Hence recourse was not had exclusively to it. Next after ille the pronoun earliest called into requisition was hic (see chap. II). Not that the two demonstratives were synonymous. It was their very difference in meaning that made possible the use of both of them as substitutes for is at the same time, while *vice versa*, the actual use of the two in contexts formerly reserved for is tended to reduce to a minimum this difference in their meaning. For example, as soon as hic came to be used of objects that had no closer relation to the subject than that of occupying a place in his sympathies or interest, it could be used of objects remote in space and time, to which at an earlier stage in the development of the pronoun, only ille could have been applied.

The above statements apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to idem, which was used as early as Nepos (see Lupus, *op. cit.* p. 110) in connections in which the idea of identity is clearly implied in the context and where the use of a special word to point it out is superfluous. Such a sentence is well illustrated by the German (especially Swiss) usage: Er näherte sich dem Hause und ging an demselben vorbei; and the English: 'We examined the system, and found the same to be....,' or the Latin of Nepos, Epam. 10,4 Thebas et ante

Epaminondam natum et post eiusdem interitum, cited
by Lupus; *cf.* Dion 2,3. The types of context in
which idem could replace is are, of course, less numer-
ous than in the case of ille. Idem qui for is qui was
common. Idem as a substitute for is, found especial
favor with the historians, chiefly during the period of
the "silver" Latin, and to some extent even later.
Idem, like is, became entirely obsolete in time, and
ille and ipse took its place.

The use of ipse as a determinative has been
touched upon above (see pp. 185 f.). The nature of
the change in meaning is analogous in all the fore-
going cases. The meaning becomes less specific, and
consequently the range of the application of the word
continually widens. Just as ille gradually lost the
character of a remote demonstrative, and came to be
used, not to call attention to the remoteness of an
object, but to refer to the given object simply because
it was remote; and just as hic and idem similarly lost
the character of a near demonstrative and pronoun of
identity respectively; so the implication of a contrast
gradually passed out of the complex of ideas repre-
sented by ipse. This change begins to make itself
apparent in our extant literature about the same time
as the corresponding changes in hic and idem, but the
substitution of ipse for is does not become common
until comparatively late. For iste = is see pp. 158 f.

Of these five competitors for the position of is,
idem seems entirely to have disappeared from use
(unless it exists in the Ital. desso), hic has succeeded
in maintaining itself only in the neuter reinforced form
ecce–hoc (French ce, Ital. ciò). Ipse succeeded in

establishing itself over a large territory, yet, even ipse
either shares its domain with ille, as in ancient times,
or takes on the special meaning of the Spanish eso[1],
Ille therefore, which was the first pronoun to claim
the place of the determinative, maintained its pre-
dominence from first to last.

In the cases just discussed the substantive use of
the pronouns prevailed. The peculiarities they show
in their development as adjectives are not less inter-
esting. They all, with the possible exception of iste,
tend to deteriorate to mere definite articles. The fol-
lowing paragraphs are nothing more than a few notes
on the various aspects of the problem. A full discus-
sion would necessitate an extensive study of the his-
tory of the definite article in other branches of the
Indo-European languages; and I have not time at
present to undertake such a study.

[1] Since writing this, I have received the Archivio Glottologico
Italiano XV,3, on pp. 303–316 of which Ascoli discusses the rela-
tion of the modern derivatives from ipse to their classical proto-
type. On p. 306 he affirms that the expression 'kku-epso (he
thus writes it to avoid committing himself either to original
eccum-ipsum or atque-ipsum), not only in the Spanish eso, but in
all parts of the Romance territory in which it occurs, is used as a
pronoun of the second person ("ha sempre quella funzione che
dicono di dimostrativo 'di secondo persona', cioè di codesto").
I am not ready to accept this affirmation, which is of far reach-
ing importance, without more specific proof than Ascoli brings
forward. The character of the literature that makes up our
sources of information on these popular idioms, is such that one
is in great danger of being misled in forming conclusions on
such a point as this.

I also note with much interest his statement on p. 314 : La
scarsa funzione aggettivale di *esso* è pure nel senso, benchè
attenuato, del pronome d'identità.

The use of ille as a definite article has long been
recognized and attention has frequently been called to
such constructions as Medea illa (= ἡ Μήδεια), which
is also extended to appellatives (*cf.* Nepos, Arist. 1,2
testula illa and the accepted reading of Tac. Germ.
14,11 f. cited above, p. 107), ille alter (as old as Plau-
tus), ille octauus, *etc.*, ille + a substantivized partici-
ple (*cf.* Hor. Sat. 1,1,115 — a passage that offers a
clearer instance of ille = article than illis quaesitis in
Hor. Sat. 1,1,37 f.), and citations by the score, begin-
ning with the *locus classicus* Cic. Aratea, *apud* De Nat.
Deor. 2,114, might be adduced in which ille, in Latin
translations of Greek writings, stands as an equivalent
of the Greek article.

As was stated in chapter I, is was the weakest in
meaning of the six pronouns under discussion, and in
fact differed in many instances but very slightly from
the use of the definite article in the modern English
and German languages. This is true in particular of
such sentences as Cic. Lael. 2 .... memini.... in eum
sermonem illum (*sc.* Scaeuolam) incidere, qui tum fere
multis erat in ore, 'I remember that Scaevola men-
tioned the subject that was....on the lips of every-
one.' The demonstrative force here retained by eum
can be no stronger than would be expressed by an
attenuated English "that," should we substitute it for
"the" in the above translation. It particularizes the
substantive and points it out as one that is to be
further defined immediately. By doing so it serves
the function of a definite article. The construction is
not so common as one might at first be inclined to sup-
pose. There are only about half a dozen instances in

Cicero's Laelius. The examples in Tacitus are mostly
found in the Dialogue on Oratory[1].

It naturally follows from the above, that when ille
began to take the place of is, it also took on the func-
tion of the article in such sentences as the above.
The change was going on in the first century of the
empire, as the works of Seneca the Younger testify.

Hic seems not to have been very extensively used
in this weakened sense. Expressions like Lupercal
hoc....ludicrum Liv. 1,5,1, and nuptialem hanc uocem
Liv. 1,9,12 correspond to the type Medea illa, but are
of comparatively infrequent occurrence. In the two
examples just cited, there is no particular contrast
implied in hoc, and I should be disinclined to assume
a strong demonstrative force for the word, although
it unquestionably retains clear traces of its normal
meaning.

Two further questions concerning the use of hic as
an article must be mentioned here. They both have
their origin in the use of hic as a substitute for ὁ, ἡ,
τό, *etc.* In the one case hic is found in Latin transla-
tions of Greek writings, where the Greek text shows
the article; in the other case hic is used by Roman
grammarians in paradigms, where in the Greek para-
digms the definite article is employed.

Ever since the publication of Kaulen's Handbuch
der Vulgata, Mainz, 1870 (*cf.* § 72), the attention of
scholars has occasionally been called to the use of
forms of hic, representing the Greek article, in various

[1] For is = definite article see also Rönsch, Itala und Vul-
gata: das Sprachidiom der Urchristlichen Itala und der katho-
lischen Vulgata, 2d edition, Marburg, 1875, p. 423.

early Latin translations of the Scriptures. Hermann
Rönsch has shown himself more industrious than
others in the collection of such examples. In his
Itala und Vulgata, pp. 420–422, under the rubric
"Artikelgebrauch von *hic*," he has printed a long list;
and in his Semasiologische Beiträge zum lateinischen
Wörterbuch, zweites Heft, Leipzig, 1888, p. 17, under
the lemma "hic = Artikel," he supplements the
earlier list by twelve further examples. The form of
the rubric he employs certainly implies that he supposes
hic not to be simply a Latin substitute for the Greek
article, but its equivalent in meaning. Kaulen *l. c.*
plainly says, hic und is haben in manchen Stellen
schon ihren deiktischen Charakter verloren und sind
zu blossen Artikelbezeichnungen geworden.... Fur-
thermore, since Rönsch in his later book uses the sign
of equality in the sense of "means" (*cf.* p. 16 "haben-
tia = ea quae habentur" and "gracilis = fein, dünn"),
we must conclude that he had not changed his views
on the subject in the interim between the publication
of the two books. I must confess, however, to grave
doubts of the correctness of his judgment on this
point, for the following reasons:

Rönsch has himself so arranged his citations that a
moment's examination of them reveals the fact that
sixty-eight out of his ninety-three examples, *i. e.*,
about three-fourths of the entire number, present,
under one form or another, the locution hic mundus
(corresponding to the Greek ὁ κόσμος). Now no one
who has read the Latin Patristic literature extensively
can have failed to note the very frequent occurrence of
this expression. The contrast between the present

world and the future life had become a part and parcel
of the religious experience of the early Christian.
The Church Fathers continually dwell upon this con-
trast, and hic mundus, or still stronger iste mundus
(*cf. supra*, p. 125), which clearly expresses this con-
trast, was as familiar to their ears as is "this world"
to those of the modern divine. In fact, hic had be-
come a standing epithet of mundus, and while not so
inseparably bound up with its substantive as hoc was
in the word hodie, and as hanc afterward came to be
in the expression ad hanc horam, from which the Ital-
ian ancora is derived, hic was nevertheless intimately
associated with it. We shall accordingly be justified
in assuming that in translating ὁ κόσμος the ancients
were influenced rather by a natural tendency to reduce
every mention of the word mundus to the traditional
form hic mundus, rather than by any desire to give an
exact semasiological equivalent of the Greek article.
In short, the mere existence of hic in this expression,
in which it implies a contrast, removes it in meaning
from the sphere of the article.

Let us now examine the remaining twenty-five
instances cited by Rönsch.

The citations 2 Cor. 7,10 huius saeculi (*cod.* h),
2 Cor. 5,1 huius habitationis (*codd.* h, Boern. Amia-
tinus, Toletanus) and 2 Macc. 7,9 *apud.* Cyprian, Ad
Fortunatum 11 hac praesenti uita, fall into the same
category with hic mundus, although it must frankly
be admitted that the addition of praesenti in the last
case is indicative of some weakening in the force of hic
as a near demonstrative. Yet it has not become sim-
ply a definite article, because, if it had, we should

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expect now and then to meet οὗτος ὁ κόσμος in the un-
heard of Latin garb iste hic mundus.[1]

In Luc. 17,17 hi decem (*cod.* e, according to
Rönsch;—he should have added: a, b, c, d, f[2], i, q, s;
cod. D reads ουτοι, for οὗτοι). The occurence of hi in
so many different versions forces the conclusion that it
is due to the existence of a οὗτοι in the Greek text,
although only *cod.* D *cum* man. sec. and *codd. All* show
it now, and although it may have arisen from a mis-
understanding of ουχ οι in the original text.

In the citation from Apoc. 20,6, *apud* Primasius,
Commentum in Apoc., in hac prima resurrectione, it is
clear that the Greek phrase αὕτη ἡ ἀνάστασις ἡ πρώτη in
§ 5 immediately preceding the Latin phrase cited, led
to the insertion of the pronoun hac. Whether it was
intentional on the part of the translator, or was due to
a confusion of the two phrases either in his mind or
that of a later copyist, is a matter of indifference.

It was likewise no desire to give an exact render-
ing of the Greek article, that influenced the makers of
the translations of Phil. 3,16 contained in *codd.* Boern.
and h and the translator of Barnabas, Epist. 4,5 to use
forms of hic in translating forms of τὸ αὐτό by hoc
ipsum. This phrase, running side by side with id
ipsum, and bearing the meaning of idem, was a stereo-
typed expression like hic mundus (*cf. supra* p. 167).
Certainly the uetus interpretator of the letter of Bar-
nabas did not intend hoc to stand as an equivalent
for τό in the passage cited, as is shown by the circum-

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[1] This statement may be venturesome, since our manuscripts
would in such cases probably show istic or isthic (*cf. supra* p.
143).

stance that no where else in his translation does hic
represent ὁ, ἡ, τό, *etc.* To be sure the phrase hi qui
occurs twice in chap. 8, where it must be regarded,
however, as an orthographical variant for ii qui[1], and
in a few cases, *e. g.*, 1,5; 2,1; 2,4; 5,5; 9,5 (hoc est);
10,4; 10,7 (hoc est); 10,11 (hoc est); 12,3; 13,2; 15,6;
it is inserted in the Latin translation[2], where the
Latin idiom requires it, although there is no corre-
sponding expression in the Greek text. Yet it nor-
mally[3] translates οὗτος[4] or τάδε[5]. Hic certainly retains
in this work some traces of its classical force. Other-
wise we should not find huius temporis[6], instead of
huius nunc temporis, representing τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ in 4,1;
nor would haec sabbata in 15,8 represent τὰ νῦν σάβ-
βατα[7]. In view of all this it is extremely improbable,
that, while scores of opportunities for translating the
article by hic occur in the letter, the translator should
have availed himself of only one of these.

Four further passages mentioned by Rönsch (Mich.
1,13; 7,20 huic Iacob; Hos. 2,8; Psalm 96,1) show
hic before an indeclinable proper name, where it serves
to indicate the grammatical case and gender of the
substantive; while in 7,20 huic Abrahae follows the
analogy of huic Iacob that immediately precedes.

Ex hoc nunc (Greek, ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν) occurs four times

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[1] Numerous parallels might be cited (*cf. supra* pp. 23–25).

[2] Usually the forms hoc or haec.

[3] There are forty-five instances.

[4] οὗτος is translated by iste in only one passage, 10,4.

[5] Only in citations from the Scriptures.

[6] *cf.* Livy 1,56,2 noua haec magnificentia.

[7] In chap. 9 et hi corresponds oddly enough to κἀκεῖνοι (*i. e.*,
Ιουδαῖοι).

in the Verona Psalter.[1] The hoc is here the result of
an attempt to get around the difficulty that the Rom-
ans found in using an adverb as the object of a prepo-
sition.

The phrase principes huius populi (for ἄρχοντες τοῦ
λαοῦ) in Act. 4,8 seems to be a Biblical reminiscence
(*cf.* Isaiah 1,10 *apud* Barnabas, Epist. 9,3 principes p.
h. = ἀρχ. τ. λ. τ.; Deut. 4,1 *in op. cit.* 10,2; Jer. 2,12
in op. cit. 11,2 p. hic = ὁ λ. οὗτος.

Of the remaining nine out of the ninety-three
cases, four show some form of hic applied to an actu-
ally existing, material object, which is in the presence
of the speaker and to which he directs the attention of
his listeners. All four passages are direct discourse;
and in all, the context permits the interpretation of hic
in its classical sense, or even with deictic force.

The remaining five passages are Mich. 1,13 huic
filiae(?) (*cod.* Fuldensis), in which the text is doubt-
ful; 3 Esdr. 8,15 (should be 33?); Act. 4,37, in which
there seems to be most justification for taking hic as
an article; 11,22, where hic may be interpreted as a
resumptive "this," and is closely paralleled by Livy
1,21,4 ad id sacrarium, for ad eius or huius sacrarium;
and Act. 19,23.

So Rönsch's ninety-three examples of "hic = Ar-
tikel" reduce themselves to at most five, and even
these are not beyond question.

I have gone into this detailed discussion of the sub-
ject, in order to point out, first that we must not

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[1] The references are 113,18; 120,8; 124,2; 130,3. In the
Vulgate also it represents the same Greek phrase in Psalm. 112,
2, a passage overlooked by Rönsch.

only be very careful in our use of the evidence afforded
by these early translations, but that we must accu-
rately distinguish between the use of a Latin word as
a substitute for a Greek word and as a semasiological
equivalent of it; and secondly that in the present case
the evidence that the translations offer for the use of
hic as an article is very scanty.

As to the second question mentioned above, we
cannot regard the technical use of hic in paradigms,
as in any sense indicative of a weakening in the
force of hic, much less as proving it to be synony-
mous with the definite article. If any arguments
were necessary to establish so patent a truth, we might
refer to the fact that its occurrence in Varro, De
Ling. Lat. 8,22 and 9,52 implies its use at an earlier
date, when hic certainly retained its full force as a
near demonstrative. It is in no sense a definite arti-
cle, but merely a convenient device for indicating
the gender and case of a word.

If hic was seldom used as a definite article, it natu-
rally follows that iste was even more rarely so used;
because, as we have seen above (see chap. III), iste
had a much stronger demonstrative force than did hic,
and naturally came to take the place of the latter.
Consequently the use of iste as an article, if it was
ever so used, must have occurred long after hic sank
to that stage. We find this view fully confirmed by
the evidence of the texts. I have found only three
instances of the use of iste in Latin translations rep-
resenting the Greek ὁ, ἡ, τό, *etc.* The first is found in
the Versio Palatina of the Pastor Hermae, Sim. 9,14,2
(cited by Haussleitner in Luthardt's Zeitschr. f. kirch.

Wiss. 1885, p. 98) where the Greek reads ἐὰν τούτων τῶν γυναικῶν ἀποβάλλωσι τὰ ἔργα, τῶν δὲ παρθένων ἀναλάβωσι τὴν δύναμιν; the Versio Palatina reads si abiecerint omnia opera mulierum illarum, et istarum uirginum resumpserint potentiam; the Versio Vulgata, however, reads just the same, except that it substitutes potestatem for potentiam, and harum for istarum. Plainly both these translators were led to use the near demonstratives harum and istarum[1] by a desire to contrast mulierum, the women who personify pleasure and sin, with uirginum, who personify the potestates filii Dei. He refers to the former by illarum, since they are remote from his sympathies. The second passage is Pastor Hermae, Vis. 3,3,1 τί ἐστιν τὰ πράγματα; Palatina, quae sint res istae?; Vulgata, quae sunt hae res? Hae and istae were written here under the influence of the preceding haec, and refer to objects near the speaker. But they were certainly very weak, even though they retain traces of a stronger meaning. In Ignatius, Epist. ad Tarsenses ex Philippis 1 iniquorum istorum=τῶν δεινῶν; but istorum implies contempt.

These three passages cannot justify us in assuming that iste was very largely used as an article. Its use in modern Spanish with the meaning "this," also makes this view improbable.

We now turn to the consideration of idem as a definite article. It was pointed out above (pp. 196, 193) that is served sometimes as a definite article and that idem was weakened in meaning until it became practically synonymous with is. The use of both is and idem an article is shown by the nineteen cases

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[1] Istarum is, of course, used here in the sense of harum.

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in which they represent the Greek article in the Latin translations of the Pastor Hermae. All but four of these passages are found in the ninth Parable; two are in the eighth and two in the fifth. Both the Palatine and the Vulgate translation of the Pastor show the usage, eleven cases falling to the former. The instance in Sim. 5,6,5 is especially noteworthy. The Greek text reads αὕτη ἡ σάρξ, ἐν ᾗ κατῴκησε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἐδούλευσε τῷ πνεύματι...., μηδὲν ὅλως μιάνασα τὸ πνεῦμα. 6. πολιτευσαμένην οὖν οὖν αὐτὴν καλῶς καὶ ἁγνῶς καὶ συ[γκ]οπιάσασαν τῷ πνεύματι. The Versio Palatina translates: hoc ergo corpus, in quo deductus est spiritus sanctus, paruit eidem spiritui...., nec omnino eundem spiritum maculauit. 6. unde cum idem corpus recte atque caste eidem spiritui paruisset.... The Versio Vulgata has: hoc ergo corpus, in quo deductus est spiritus sanctus, seruiuit ei || *sic cod.* V; illi ed. pr. Cott. Dress. || spiritui...., neque omnino maculauit spiritum illum. cum igitur corpus hoc paruisset omni tempore recte atque caste.... Note the alternation of forms of is and ille with eundem. In this way idem in the Palatina corresponds to is or ille of the Vulgata in 8,1,2; 9,6,3; 9,9,4; while this relation of Palatina and Vulgata is reversed in 9,7,7 and 9,11,6 (in this section, illa was printed in ed. pr. of the Vulgata). In only one passage (9,9,4 in eodem campo) besides that quoted above do both translations show idem. In six passages, 8,2,8; 9,1,6; 9,2,3; 9,4,3; 9,10,2; 9,10,3; the Palatina has idem, while the Vulgata makes no attempt to render the article; in four other cases, 9,4,4; 9,7,4; 9,8,5; 9,11,6; the relation of the two translations is reversed in this

particular. In most of these passages it is clear that idem not merely stands as a substitute for the definite article, but is synonymous with it.

It is a well known fact that ipse developed into a definite article in some parts of the territory of the Romance languages (*cf.* Meyer–Lübke, Gramm. der roman. Sprachen II, 129 f).

The earliest positive evidence of the usage is found in the translations of the Pastor Hermae:

<div align="center">(See following page.)</div>

Ipse in both versions:

Palatina.	Greek.	Vulgate.
Sim. 8,1,18 et nuntius ipse.	ὁ ἄγγελος.	et nuncius ipse.
Sim. 9,2,1 de ipso campo.	ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου.	de ipso campo.
Sim. 9,6,1 ipsam turrem.	τὸν πύργον.	ipsam turrim.

In the versio Palatina:

Palatina.	Greek.	Vulgate.
Uis. 3,2,5 ipsa turris.	ὁ πύργος.	turris.
Sim. 5,5,3 ipsius p. familiae.	τοῦ δεσπότου.	illius p.
Sim. 1,8,18 ipse … pastor.	καὶ ὁ ποιμήν.	nec minus pastor ille.
Sim. 9,2,2 porta autem ipsa.	ἡ δὲ πύλη.	et porta illa.
Sim. 9,2,3 portam autem ipsam.	τῆς πύλης.	eam portam.
Sim. 9,1,4 montis ipsius,	τοῦ ὄρους.	eius (without montis).

Sim. 9,3,1 et super portam   καὶ ἐπάνω τῆς πύλης.   (*omittit.*)
ipsam.

In the versio Vulgata:

Sim. 9,4,6 a multitudine ui-   ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν.   ab ipsis uiris.
rorum.

Sim. 8,1,18 well illustrates the great freedom prevailing under the empire in the use of the pronouns:

ipsi enim ualde hilares erant,	καὶ λίαν ἱλαροὶ ἦσαν οἱ ἄνθρω-	eorum uirorum ualde hila-
et nuntius ipse magnam	ποι ἐκεῖνοι...καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος	res erant uultus, sed et
laetitiam de ipsis habebat;	ἐπὶ τούτοις ἠγαλλιᾶτο καὶ	nuncius ipse quidem ex
ipse quoque pastor ex illis	ὁ ποιμὴν λίαν ἱλαρὸς ἦν	eis magnam laetitiam
hilaris fuit.	ἐπὶ τούτοις.	percipiebat, nec minus
		pastor ille ex eadem cau-
		sa hilaritatem capiebat.

Hieronymus seems to have kept his translation free from this remarkable construction. It is found, however, in the earlier translations both of the Septuagint and of the New Testament. There are citations in Rönsch, Itala und Vulgata p. 423 from 3 Esdras 8,15; 45; 50; 71; 92. In the Collectanea Philol., p. 186 (= Z. f. ö. Gymn. 1877), the same scholar cites a passage from the Acta S. Timothei p. 12,57 (ed. Usener, 1887) ipsis quae diximus superportis (τοῖς ἐπιφερομένοις) palis et lapidibus. I am convinced that in passages of this kind, in which the Greek definite article followed by a participle is rendered into Latin, the Romans must have felt the ipse as rather nearer in meaning to is than to the article. It was their almost invariable practice to render ὁ + participle by is....qui....or by ille....qui.... In Ignatius, Epist. ad Phil. (interpolata) 4 ipse omnia euocans et mouens, representing ὁ πάντα καλῶν κινῶν, the use of ipse is justified by its antecedent. In the interpretatio uetus of the Epistle of Barnabas there is no example.

Commodian, Apol. 657 reads

In nuptiis fuerat inuitatus matre cum ipsa.

Here Dombart (*vid*. Index, *s. v.*) takes ipse "pro articulo." Yet we may well doubt whether ipsa is not here justified by the frequency with which it is used by children to designate their parents. In like manner, Arnobius, Ad Nat. 1,2, f. 1b rerum ipsa quae dicitur appellaturque natura, seems to be an equivalent to ἡ καλομένη φύσις, and may perhaps be explained like the passage from the Acta S. Timothei.

In Lactantius' De Opificio Dei ipse is repeatedly used in describing the structure of the human body

with an extremely weak force, and seems closely to approximate the definite article in meaning.

Pompeius, the Grammarian, who shows so many peculiarities in the use of the pronouns, offers us a curious passage p. 133,27(K) si dicas, "Tityre maxi-me," T. m. duo sunt dactyli, ecce nihil superest. sed ipsi pedes finiunt ipsam elocutionem. Similarly Plan-ciades Fulgentius, Mitol. 3,9 (p. 76,8) uox uero habet gradus symphoniarum innumeros, quantum natura donauerit ipsam uocem ut habeat arsis et thesis quas nos Latine. Further see Placitus, De Medicinis ex Animal. 2,5; 17,14.

Meyer–Lübke finds traces of the use of ipse as an article not only in Sardinia (*cf.* Beger, Latein. und Roman. Berlin, 1863, pp. 51. 54), but also in the Balearic Islands (Mallorca) and on both sides of the Pyrenees (Ampurdan and Gascogne). We may con-clude, by viewing Meyer–Lübke's statement in con-nection with the occurrence of the usage in the west-Aquitanian Itinerarium Burdigalense and the Pere-grinatio Sanctae Siluiae from southern Gaul, that ipse = ó obtained a fairly firm footing in southern Gaul, quite a little further to the eastward. Furthermore two documents in the Bibliothèque Nationale (one from the year 679–80 and the other a document of Pepin's time from Aubin, district of Telle, dated 750) bear witness to the existence of the usage farther north. Hilary of Poitiers, although having ipse = idem, does not seem to know the usage, perhaps be-cause he made efforts to keep his style closer to the classical usage, which his early training in Rhetoric would naturally lead him to do.

If now we put together all the changes here treated, and such others as I myself or others have noted, but which are for various reasons not discussed fully in this book, we obtain the following general view:

    is (demonstrative) > talis
                      > is (determinative)
                      > definite article
                      > obsolete[1]

Is was replaced by ille, hic and ipse; also, but less extensively, by idem, and occasionally by iste.

    ille > talis
        > is (determinative)
        > definite article

As a demonstrative ille was replaced by the com-pounds eccum-illum (= Italian quello), ecce-ille (= French cel), which were themselves further rein-forced by [il]la[c]; *cf.* Engl. "that there."

    idem > item
        > is (determinative)
        > obsolete

Idem was reinforced or replaced by the expressions hic idem (which for phonetic reasons could not long have maintained itself in the nom. pl. masc and fem.), iste idem, ille idem; is ipse (especially in the form id ipsum), hic ipse, iste ipse (and later istum ipsum, which yielded the Italian stesso), idem ipse (which, according to Dietz yielded Italian desso, also explained

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[1] This means that as a free and independent word it passed out of use.

as id ipsum), ille ipse; ipsissimus, met-ipsismus (= French même).

    hic > talis
        > is (determinative)
        > definite article
        > obsolete

Hic in its pronominal use was replaced mainly by iste, which still remains in Spanish; ecce-hoc (= French ce, which has itself so far depreciated in meaning that it is reinforced by both ci < ecce-hic and la < illac) and eccum istum, from which is derived Italian questo, which is itself sometimes reinforced by qui < ecce hic.

    iste > talis
        > ille
        > hic (demonstrative) > hic (determinative)
            = is (determinative)
        > (?) definite article

Iste as δευτερότριτον was replaced by eccum-ti(for tibi)-istum, Italian codesto; and, if the statement of Ascoli cited above, is correct, by ipsa, ipso (for ipsum). As πρωτότριτον it was replaced by ecce-iste (French cette) and eccum-istum (Italian questo).

    ipse > idem (expressing identity)
        > ille or is (determinative)
        > definite article
        > obsolete (in some localities)

Ipse was replaced by the compounds id ipsum, *etc.*, met-ipsimus.

The changes discussed in this book are frequently, if not usually, designated in scientific works by such expressions as "confusions of meaning," "barbar-

isms" and "Verwilderung," terms which are misleading, inexact and obscure. Such terms imply, moreover, that the person who uses them has either consciously or unconsciously assumed that there is a fixed standard of usage in language. It may seem to some scholars that a protest against this careless use of words, is a work of supererogation. Not at all so; because the very use of such expressions implies that the classical consciousness is not yet entirely emancipated from false notions respecting the superiority of Ciceronian Latin and the "corruptions" of later Latin, notions that have been rife since the days of Laurentius Valla's De Linguae Latinae Elegantiis, and even earlier. Many are still seeking for a "standard of usage" suited, for example, to students of Latin prose composition.

I must protest against the use of the phrases "confusion of meaning," "Verwilderung," *etc.*, to designate such changes as ille > is, iste > hic > is, and others; and I may make my position clear by one or two illustrations. Take the sentence from Tertullian, De Spectac. 21 sic ergo euenit, ut qui in publico uix....tunicam leuet, idem in circo....exuet; ut et qui...., ipse...., et qui...., idem.... No reasonable person would suppose that, when Tertullian composed these lines, there existed in his mind any confusion as to the respective meanings of ipse and idem, any more than would arise in the mind of an English speaking person on reading the paraphrase : 'T h e m a n w h o on the street would scarcely remove his coat, would do so without hesitation in the circus; and t h e v e r y p e r s o n who, *etc*...., while h e who....'

Tertullian had occasion to express the idea of identity in three successive coordinate and symmetrical sentences, and he chose to employ two different words to express that idea. Their very difference, as he appreciated their meanings, was doubtless the factor that determined his choice. The other parallel sentences cited on p. 173 *supra* should be explained in the same way. On the contrary, cases in which a foreigner, with only an imperfect acquaintance with the Latin tongue, employs a word à la Mrs. Partington, must, of course, be viewed in an entirely different light. Yet even such instances have usually a very great scientific value.

Accordingly it is to be understood, that when the expressions "synonymous," "of the same meaning," *etc.*, are employed, in this volume, they are used in the sense of the preceding paragraph; and that due allowance must always be made for chronological, local and individual peculiarities. In addition to these, possible influences of a writer's sources must be weighed. In the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh centuries in particular, when originality of thought was so rare in the Roman empire, the writers of books were much given to making *ad litteram* excerpts from earlier works, and have frequently incorporated into their own productions idioms of extraneous origin. Where such an influence has not been operative, that is to say, where an author uses two words as does Tertullian in the passage cited, there invariably exist differences in the elements composing the groups of ideas to which the words respectively correspond, although, at the same time they have important elements in common.

In conclusion I must make one further point clear. The shifting in meaning that we observe words to have undergone is, as we know, in every case the result of a cumulative series of unconscious and imperceptible deviations from a former meaning; or to speak more exactly, each time a word is employed it becomes really a new word, the old disappearing in the new. Accordingly it becomes a matter of prime importance in studying the nature of changes in meaning, that we should direct our attention especially to the minutest perceptible gradations of meaning, citing such passages as illustrate them most clearly. Such stages form, so to speak, "connecting links" between the earlier and the later meanings.[1] From this point of view, it is more important that we should study these minute gradations attentively than that we should emphasize unduly the differences that exist between two widely separated stages. Yet, since it has been my purpose, throughout this book to prove the existence of distinctly marked new meanings of the pronouns, rather than to show how such meanings have come into existence, my method of presentation has often more closely resembled the lexicographical, which aims to show that certain distinctly differing meanings exist, rather than the semasiological, which aims to show how such meanings arise.

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[1] *Cf.* Stöcklein, Bedentungswandel der Wörter, München, 1898.

SOURCES.

The following Greek and Latin texts have been used in the preparation of this work. The editions followed in making citations are for the most part those used in the preparation of the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, a complete list of which is printed in Vol. I,1 of that work (Leipzig, 1900). The exceptions are indicated in the following list by the addition of the editor's name. If the author's name is followed by no mention of his works, it is to be understood that his entire extant works are represented. Thoroughly reliable complete indices and lexica have been largely depended upon for those authors (indicated by an asterisk[1]) where such exist; but even in such cases larger or smaller parts of the given author's writings have been read in addition.

Plautus (*cf. supra* p. 36). Terence, ed. Fleckeisen, 1897. *Scaenicae Romanorum Poesis Fragmenta. *Ennius. *Ueterum Historicorum Romanorum Fragmenta, 1870 and 1883 .*Cato, De Agricultura, ed. Keil, 1882. *Rhetorica ad Herennium. Cicero, *orations, ed. Müller, 1894, 1896, 1898; *philosophical works, ed. Müller, 1889, 1898, 1898; Brutus and De Oratore I, ed. Friedrich, 1893; and the letters, ed. Müller-Wesenburg, 1896, 1895. *Caesar. *Pseudo-Caesar. Nepos, ed. Halm, 1871. Sallust, ed. Jordan, 1887. Varro, Res Rusticae, ed. Keil, 1884. Catullus. Lucretius, B'ks. 1,2,3,6, ed. Munro, 1893. Livy, ed. Weissenborn-Müller, 1888-1892. *Vitruvius. Seneca. Valerius Maximus, Velleius Paterculus, ed. Ellis, 1898. Celsus, 1-2,1. *Tibullus. Propertius, ed. Rothstein, 1898. *Horace, ed. Keller and Holder. Virgil, ed. Ribbeck, 1894, 1895. Ovid, Ibis, ed. Ellis, 1881; other works ed. Merkel-Ehwald, 2d edition. Manilius, ed. Iacob, 1846. Frontinus, Strategemata,

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[1] All other indices, *e. g.*, Friedländer to Juvenal and Martial, and Korn to Ex. Ponto, *etc.*, have been found incomplete.

B'ks. 1 and 3. Frontinus Gromaticus. Curtius, ed. Damsté, 1897. Persius, ed. Conington-Nettleship, 3d ed., 1893. Seneca, Dial. 1-10. Pliny, Nat. Hist. 2,3,6-15, 23-30. Pliny the Younger, ed. Keil, 1886. Tacitus, ed. Müller, 1890. Fronto, ed. Naber, 1867. Apuleius, Metamorphoses, 1-10; Apologia, in part, ed. Van der Vliet. Florus. Suetonius. Aulus Gellius. Justin. Lucan, ed. Francken, 1897. Statius, Siluae, ed. Vollmer, 1898; Theb. and Achil. as in Thesaurus L. L. Silius, 1-10,17. Martial, 1-7 read, ed. Friedländer, 1886. Juvenal, Satires 2,6,9 ed. Bücheler, 1893; Sat. 1,3-5,7,8,10-16, ed. Mayor, 1888,1893. Censorinus, De Die Natali. Scriptores Historiae Augustae. Eutropius. Auctor De Uiris Illustribus, Tauchnitz. Aurelius Victor, Origo, ed. Sepp. Declamatio in Catilinam. Aggenus Urbicus. Balbus. Hyginus. Siculus Flaccus. Dares. Dictys, 1-3. Pompeius Grammaticus, 108 pages. Ammianus Marcellinus, 1-6. Macrobius, Saturnalia 1-5; Somnium Scipionis pp. 476-526. Boethius, De Consolatione Philosophiae. Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri. Scholia Terentiana, ed. Schlee, 1893. Poetae Latini Minores Vols. III,IV.

Of the Patristic writers the following, (all[1] in the Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Romanorum Vindobonense): Minucius Felix. Tertullian. Cyprian, 1,2,4-13; Epistulae 1-43. Pseudo-Cyprian pp. 283-325. Commodian. Arnobius 1-4. Lucius Caecilius, De Mortibus Persecutorum. Firmicus Maternus. Augustine, Epistulae 1-31. Sulpicius Severus. Priscillian. Fulgentii tres, ed. Helm. Alcimus Avitus, ed. Peiper, 1883 (= Mon. Germ. Histor., Auct. Ant. VI, 2) opera 2-32, and fr. VI, ex Homil. Libris. Itinera Hierosolymitana Vol. I. Eugippus, Uita Severini. Translations of Greek writings: Barnabas and Ignatius, ed. Gebhardt-Harnack-Zahn, 1875, 1876. Clemens Romanus, ed. Morin, 1894. Pastor Hermae (Vulgata ed. Hilgenfeld, 1873, and Palatina ed. Gebhardt-Harnack, 1877). Irenaeus. New Testament ex Uers. S. Hieronymi (all of Matthew and parts of the other Gospels have been carefully compared with the Greek original and the texts of the Ante-Hieronymian translations: Veronensis (b), Colbertinus (c), Sangallenses 1394, 172 and bib. Vadiana 70 (n, o, p), Ambrosianus (s), Bernensis (t),

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[1] Except as otherwise noted.

Vindobonensis 502 (v). This list of versions is concluded on p. 139. I have used the following versions only in so far as they are incompletely accessible in Sabbatier's citations: Corbeienses (f[1], f[2]), Sangermanenses (g[1], g[2]), Augustine's Speculum has also been made use of to some extent. The Uersio Authentica of Justinian's Novellae Constitutiones I–XX has also been compared with the Greek original.

The following writers have been read in larger or smaller selections: Varro, De Lingua Latina. Petronius. Valerius Flaccus, ed. Langen, 1896. Gaius, ed. Huschke, 1886. Porphyrio in Horatium. Boethius, De Musica; [De Arithmetica]. The following Patristic writers in the C. S. E. R.[1]: Lactantius, Institutiones. Novation. Ambrosius. Hieronymus (Migne). Rufinus. Prudentius. Paulinus of Nola. Optatus. Filastrius. Ruricus. Faustus. Corippus, ed. Partsch, 1879 (= Mon. Ger. Hist., Auc. Ant. III). Augustine, *uaria.* Hilarian, Tractatus in Psalmos. Pelagius. Orosius. Vicentius. Prosper. Merobaudes (Migne). Salvianus. Claudian, ed. Birt., 1892 (= Mon. Ger. Hist., Auc. Ant. X) Victor Vitensis. Fortunatus. Idacius (Migne). Ennodius, ed. Vogel, 1885 (= Mon. Ger. Hist., Auc. Ant. VII). Isidore (Migne).

I trust that I have overlooked no modern authority of importance. I have been greatly helped in the collection of my material by the citations illustrating the use of the pronouns to be found in the appropriate sections of various monographs on the Latinity of particular writers. No list of these is here given, since they may be found in Schmalz's Lateinische Syntax, especially pp. 202–213. The more important receive particular mention in their appropriate connection in the body of this work.

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[1] Except as otherwise noted.

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

p. 24, 1. 30.   Cicero, Tusc. Dis. 3,28, quotes Enn. Fab. 204 ei rei sustuli; but Seneca, De Consol. 9,30, following the natural tendencies of his period, alters it to huic rei sustuli.

p. 38, 1. 6.   The position of hoc in Lucr. 3,531 does not favor Munro's conjecture.

p. 41, 1. 26.   In Gellius 11,9,1 *cod.* B omits the explanatory sentence in which eo stands.

p. 44, 1. 17.   *Read*: Non eo || ego *cod.* C || haec.

p. 45, 1. 12.   *Read*: 3,4,7*p* || nos eo *cod.* E; non eo modo *codd. H P II C*; non in eo modo *cod.* B || ; in

p. 45, 1. 13.   In Nepos, Chab. 1,2 Fleckeisen, keeping the MSS. reading ducem, supplies eo frustratus est quod after cateruis.

p. 57, 1. 16.   *Read*: instances besides 101 and 102, where Bücheler does not adopt it, (see

p. 65, 1. 3.   *Read*: 9 *extr.* (This passage is by some regarded as spurious); 22,8;

p. 68, 1. 2.   *Read*: 5,16,2 ad hoc Veientique || veienti quoque *codd. recc. et edd. pleraeque* ||. So also in 1. 25.

p. 71, 1. 21.   *Read*: expeditiores (Faern's correction to ad iter expeditiores is accepted by Kübler), and

pp. 74*f.*   To the instances of obid in Livy add: 42,5,4; 45,16,6; 23,19; 24,3; to those of ob haec add: 21,53,11; to ob ea add: 35,14,4; 42,10,15. Hyginus,

Fab., has ob id 21 times, ob hoc 4 times.   To the in-
stances of ob hoc from Pliny, Epist. add 1,10,11 and
8,22,3.   See Reissinger, *op. cit.*, part II.

p. 81, l. 5.   *Read*: hanc; illam....hanc: haec,

92, l. 10.   *Read*: teterrima; Livy 7,34,9 (signa
uertunt); Sall.

p. 122, l. 28.   *Read*: istas ‖ ista *coni.* Guyetus ‖

p. 128, l. 20.   *Read*: 23,1–2 huic homini; 25,1
huius uiri; 2;

p. 183, l. 8.   *Read*: stands Spain (Isidore) and

p. 188, l. 6.   *Read*: ἐπάνω